

Ross Dowson Archives -- Correspondence year 1955

- 02_03 Letter to Farrell (Dobbs, SWP) re disputes in BC movement
- 03_17 Letter to Farrell (Dobbs): re his trip to BC and the situation in the Vancouver branch
- 05_16 +Letter to Reg (Bullock, Vancouver): Moving towards publishing a paper once again; its format and content oriented to CCF left; our exclusion from the Ontario CCF not complete; Toronto membership suspensions
- 06_99 +(Undated document, evidently mid-year before launching Workers' Vanguard): ***"Discussion Bulletin on the situation in the East:"*** A review of our entry into the CCF and the sudden massive expulsions in Ontario and BC; our present tactical approach to entry and the building of the party, on the need to revive our party press; (Toronto?) press reports
- 07_30 Letter to the Toronto Branch, Comrades: re PC proposal for an executive body for Toronto Branch
- 08_29 Letter to Wally and Carmel: the issue of F.I. the chesterfield, the trial pamphlets (SWP), CCF work, the union situation
- 09_19 +(Political Committee) Minutes (Toronto): SWP Plenum discussions on world developments; the need in the East to develop an open party with a legal front, an independent journal and open movement (JPC suggests "SEL")
- 10_06 ***Document (5 pp.) untitled re: 1954 convention document in reply to liquidationism of our Canadian Pablists; CCF expulsions and need for independent (open) activity with continuing CCF fraction work.***
- 10_08 Letter to Jim (Cannon, SWP) re dispute with Pablists in Canada
- 11_02 +(PC) Minutes: BC branch supports SEL name; RD's proposed BC trip, nature of new journal and publication date, editorial board and finances
- 11_08A Letter to Wally and Carmel and Joyce; SEL being announced, classes starting up
- 11_08B +Press Release announcing formation of Socialist Educational League (SEL); candidates in Toronto civic election; the SEL not a party in opposition to the CCF
- 11_08C +Letter to (BC) Comrades: East discussion completed, moving ahead to set up SEL and publish a paper, a decision possibly in haste, without

reference to BC branch still with resources within CCF; our decision to enter the Toronto Mayoralty campaign and plan financing, all possibly unilateral decisions

12_18 +Minutes of (PC) meeting: discussion on objections of Vancouver branch to unilateral decision to publish paper and announcement of SEL; explanation of East desire to exploit opportunity of high-profile election campaign

12_27 +Minutes of (PC) meeting: discussion of bring on another staff member to edit journal and run bookstore; Press report by Jennings, financial drive

1955-12_99 *(Undated)* Flyer on CCF Ontario election campaign: ``Where is the CCF Going?`` Cover: Laura Grey cartoon; ``Liberals-Tories Say Election Spells CCF Doom`` (CCF's) ``opportunity missed;`` (CCF)`` leaders drop socialism, (have) no program;`` published by George Stanton

473 1/2 Yonge St, Toronto
February 3, 1955

Duffy (SNP)

Dear Farrell;

We received the tape from Vancouver a few days after you left. The minutes in my opinion take up the important questions that were touched on. We decided to completely ignore some rather harsh things that were said in the process of the meeting that was recorded.

At one stage one of the comrades levelled a whole series of "charges" against Ruth and Reg. The charges were vigorously returned along with a rather petty, superficial comparison of the success of their work out there with the fact of the expulsions down here. (Ruth) Reg let all this blandly pass over him. What is of most interest to you of course is not this petty little squabble but the second part of the tape. This was a lengthy and wordy commentary by Reg on some of the taped discussion, more recent developments in the CCF and a meeting held in Van with the Seattle comrades. It appears that one of the Seattle comrades who had been a delegate to the convention came up, brought along a tape of your speech there and Reg had J.P.C.'s.

I can only conclude that the conduct of Seattle was above reproach. Reg talked at great length on the great healing effect of the discussion with them. Whatever bad taste the squabbling branch meeting left in anyone's mouth was completely cleaned away by the meeting with the Seattle comrades. I thought you would like to know.

Incidentally the latest is that the BC top brass lifted the suspension of all the North Vancouver constituency members but R and R who are going to be specially interviewed and in all probability kicked out of the movement.

fraternally

ROSS

March 17th 1955

Dear Farrell;

Had no idea that time was flying so fast. I see you will be in Vancouver March 24 and 25. I am airmailing this note to NY and asking them to turn it right over the Seattle via airmail.

Enclosed you will find a copy of our latest minutes and a copy of the Vancouver bulletin. They should give you a bit of insight into some of the problems in Van.

of a meeting
But first Whitney's alarm has died down considerably. We received a tape a while back where all the cards were paid on the table and a new working basis was arrived at. Shortly after Ruth and Reg went down to Seattle and I gather everything is much improved. In the minutes you will note a report that Reg and Bill are to draw up a document. It is most unfortunate that it is not available now for your study. This document might have developed a theory that I hear from ~~one~~ a Torontonians who stayed out there for a period Reg holds to. The character of the Vancouver bulletin which I am enclosing and which we discuss in the minutes has great significance in the light of this theory.. It is generally this....(as I understand it.)..socialist traditions have extremely strong roots in the West, these roots must be tapped...the task is to appeal to these vague general tendencies which exist in the CCF..not to get into any struggles with the right wing on ~~inner~~ ~~inner~~ issues of the day. The fight (so the theory goes) in the whole first stages must be fought on the organizational plane, not the political plane.

Hence the anonymity of the bulletin, hence its complete and absolute failure to ~~present~~ present any programmatic ideas. The ideas of the center as expressed in the minutes are not new to them out there. I gather that Reg consciously rejects them. It would be very profitable if you could get Reg into a discussion on these minutes, and if you were able to pose questions that might cause him to express this "theory" of his in a general way so that you could take it up. The Feb 6 minutes marked a great turn for the better--in that they are going to hold weekly meetings, with educational work. They are now passing motions, concrete decisions are being made. But you will find that they have recruited no one (it must be for 3 or 4 years now) despite the broad struggles that they have been involved in over the past year particularly.

The big task out there of course is to move forward with that bulletin and turn it into a printed paper, coming out on a regular basis--the organ of the CCF left.

I gather that the trip has been a big success. You will be interested to know that we held a public forum a week last Sunday on The CCF and German ReArmament. I would say it was quite successful. All our people and their closest contacts were out and there were four or five persons attracted by a newspaper ad. We are going to hold another on April 3 and one more on May first

best of luck

fraternally

Ross

Would you return the bulletin at your convenience.

May 16, 1955

Dear Reg;

It was certainly good ^{to} read about the recent moves towards the paper.

The paper will be a big step forward in rallying the leftist currents in BC. We also need such a thing back here in the East very badly. While we have just made ~~some~~ ^{some} ~~recreat~~ and in this way are rebuilding our CCF fraction the most able and most active of us are out and we need something like the paper that you are getting underway to thrust us back into contact with the CCF. ...into contact with the clubs. And of course the sooner the better.

I see that there has been a bit of a discussion on the character of the paper. I suppose you have been able to go through the short outline of our views down here as they were written up in the minutes. I think I will add a few words for it seems to me that the character of the paper is quite important.

In my opinion it would be a mistake to publish anything else than a paper, a publication that has any other appearance than a paper. At this stage of the game it seems to me that we need something like the Socialist Outlook. A paper of this type would be capable of rallying this broad left that we are working on on a low plain. It would report the leftist developments in this country and the world scene, developing its line through its selection of the news. It seems to me that the last thing we want is analytical material, theoretical material, ~~theoretical material, the theoretical material that we would write is premature and would only result in a showdown with elements in the broad left. The theoretical material that some of the broad left would want to write is quite sterile and fully justifies the charge of the right that (this element of) the left wants to turn the party into an educational sect, for these forces have no conception of our transitional program—they have no conception whatsoever of how to translate socialism and apply it to the problems of everyday life~~ First the theoretical material that we would ~~write~~ write is premature and would only result in a showdown with elements in the broad left. The theoretical material that some of the broad left would want to write is quite sterile and fully justifies the charge of the right that (this element of) the left wants to turn the party into an educational sect, for these forces have no conception of our transitional program—they have no conception whatsoever of how to translate socialism and apply it to the problems of everyday life

The paper I ^{visualize} ~~visualize~~ would contain short snappy articles, developing a clear cut class line, advancing certain aspects of our transitional program. It would report the best doings in the movement, cautiously criticize the rightest policies of the CCF leadership, hook itself up with the Bevanite developments (in fact it had been publishing a few months ago it would have carried the complete front page of the Bevanite Tribune containing the counterattack against Bevan's expulsion) The last thing that it wants is the type of stuff Young submitted for Box 18. It could do with a column like Mildred McLeod writes but just one or two. Even Malcolm's contribution ~~submitted~~ ^{submitted} to Box 16 surprised me. It needs our transitional program. Labor Challenge contains lots of examples although taken as a whole we don't want another Labor Challenge at this time. We want a Socialist Outlook.

Sure the right is going to say that it is in competition with the CCF NEWS, although they are not going to make their case with anyone who is intelligent or who we can influence in anyway. I am sure that the Attleites say that Bevan's Tribune is in competition with the Herald or whatever it is they publish. I don't think that they are going to have much influence with anyone that the CCF NEWS should have the monopoly, should be the only paper that supports the CCF. This argument at any rate is not going to be any less should the publication appear as a magazine of some sort even though its contents and purpose is alien to such a format. No matter how this effort was published it is going to insure the

the enmity of the right wing. If it could in some way still serve our purpose and disguise itself as a magazine they would say that it is in competition with Comment or with the international publication of the Second International or w.....

It seems to me we have first to decide what we want, what is politically necessary. Then taking into account our forces and the milieu in which we hope to find support, go about making the detailed decisions.

I think that we should start off modestly. Possibly by starting off modestly we will be able to assure that we get started, for there is nothing that will ~~scare~~ off some of the faint hearts so much as the fear that financially we may get in over our head. Another thing is that we don't want to delay too long going about getting the necessary funds. This project could be easily started with sufficient funds for the first two issues. I think that we should start off with a single tabloid page---4 pages, tabloid size. While I do not know printing costs in Vancouver there would not be much variation with Toronto costs. Off-hand I would say that 4 pages tabloid size could be run off 1500 copies for less than \$125.00. This gives us only 250 to raise which should not be at all difficult. It should start off as a monthly for after all we are relatively speaking a small group without full-time people, although now I recall probably Malcolm could function full time. At any rate a monthly is adequate for the first period. Depending on the reception, the support it receives, decisions can be made later on whether to make it a 8 or twelve page tabloid like LC used to be or to keep it four pages and publish twice a month. Off hand I would prefer the ~~latter~~ latter. However all these minor problems can be met as we move along.

It would seem to me that Rodney Young would be the person to consult on the matter of ownership, and editorship. The co-op laws vary from province to province. The Bevanite Tribune is published as a company, the editorial board, the sole names that appear on the masthead, number three, Jennie Lee, Foote and Mallalieu, although I see that a fellow named Edwards is listed as editor. A co-op arrangement has many advantages. For one thing it has a restraining influence on the Right wing from moving in on us. There is always a bit of a scandal ~~over~~ a Co-operative Commonwealth party curtailing co-ops. It widens ownership and therefore gives better protection to property. As long as the paper is a 4 page tabloid monthly this wouldn't be much of a factor--the only property the paper would have would be the name, mailing list and a few cuts but as the paper moved to more frequent publication or (and) more pages it will require quarters, typewriters, ~~mailing~~ addressograph and many other properties. The more widely this property is held the safer it is that it won't fall into improper hands.

I gather we hope to have persons other than ourselves playing a prominent role in the paper financially and also from the point of view of protective coloration. The closer they are tied to the paper the better they serve in these functions. However if at a later date we have differences and say there are three owners all told and they are one and we are two, if they insisted in withdrawing their interests in the paper it is possible they could wreck it. Off hand, the laws being favorable I would favor a co-op ownership, with a persons owning as many shares as he or she liked but having only one vote. Shares do not have to be sold indiscriminately, all of us would be shareholders and of course the broad caucus members would be shareholders.

I think that it is of considerable importance that we attempt to have the paper right from the start identified with a few people who are without any question identified not only in the ranks of the CCF but in the public generally with the CCF. It seems to me reasonable that out there unlike our situation here, we should be able to realize this aim. There is little doubt, particularly after reading the last CCF NEWS that the Right wing will move in on this paper fast, as fast as it can, and in whatever way it thinks it can.

In England you will recall the right was successful in labelling the co-op that ran the paper a disguised form of the old Trotskyist party. If ~~then~~ we decided to set up a co-op it seems to me that it must be bigger than us and it would be good to have a few of the top officers persons whose public position makes them fairly immune from the charge of co-op equals party.

My impression is that the Br co-op was in essence the party. So it seems to me that we must have some big names to prohibit or bar any moves like those of Attlee's or---~~and in this case when we have a co-op we can be sure that we are not in a position to be taken in by a co-op which is not a co-op~~ and this seems to me to be one of the few good arguments for it--set the paper up as a limited company.

As important as this may seem on the surface, when you get down to it it is not too important either. It is only a matter of attempting to ~~chase~~ a defensive device to meet an attack that is bound to be made but with weapons the nature of which we have ~~no~~ ^{some} idea. We should make the best decision we can and get on with the job with no undue delay. I can see that some of the caucus members ~~wax~~ if we take all these problems to them will ~~hiss and haw~~ from now till Doomsday for the choice is a difficult one and no doubt some will use the question and others like this that we will be facing as excuses to drift along as they have done in the past, doing nothing and continuing to let precious opportunities ~~slip through their fingers~~ go by the board.

Now as to what we can do. One of the first things would be to turn over the last up-to-date Labor Challenge mailing list. We of course would grab hold of the paper and obtain as many subs as we could for it. If you decide to set up a co-op we would buy shares for ourselves and sell others shares. We would like to submit material ~~ready~~ to it for publication. ~~However~~ Our forces with the support you could get there, would absolutely assure the success of the paper.

As you probably noticed from the minutes I am prepared to go out and help in any and all ways that I can to get the paper rolling. One of us out there will have to do all the work on the paper---~~whether it be in the office or in the field~~ regardless of what contributions we get from others, the key, the main line material, will have to be prepared ~~by us~~ by us and we will have to do the technical work. Since the person involved has to work for a living he won't have too much time to give this the attention that it should have. Hence we feel that I would have something important to contribute. Besides I am one of the few persons in our ranks to have had the good fortune of being trained in this field. Of course I would of necessity have to stay pretty well behind the scenes--many of the broad caucus members would feel uncomfortable if they knew ~~what~~ how things were being handled--particularly if there are any Stalinists in the caucus as Bill brought up in the minutes some months back. ~~But the work on the paper is a very important one~~ The first two or three issues and the promotional work with them should put it well underway. Besides working on these issues I think I could be of use to you in meeting the closest contacts, and helping bring them to the group.

In the last minutes that we received there is recorded a minor fracas over what actually was decided about the paper etc. It seems to me Reg that it is of considerable importance that our forces should go to the caucus with a very clear conception of what is necessary to be done. I can well imagine that there will be a lot of hedging and stalling in the caucus as soon as we move forward to commit ourselves on the actual publication of the paper. ~~Therefore it is necessary to have a complete clarity of intention~~ It would seem to me that a complete clarity of intention ~~on the part of our forces~~ will be necessary to get things moving, and certainly to get them moving in the way that we want.

Along with the last minutes we received a document from Graham. I take it from some of the comments in the minutes that this is not the document that Briar and Graham are to be presenting shortly. Is the discussion on the Graham document in the group closed now? What does Lewis and yourself think of this document? The tops has not yet discussed it...Woods has it at present. However we will be getting together next weekend in all probability so if you are able I would appreciate some comments on it from you.

Flash....first reports on our reception in one of the ridings getting prepared for the June 9 elections. Two of our people immediately after the nomination meeting main speech was heard were asked to leave as ~~they~~ planned to discuss club business. Then another one of us was spotted so they made this request a public announcement. So there they plan to give us the deep freeze although from an electoral work point of view this riding can ill afford it. Unknown to them we have a person remaining

At another riding nomination meeting after four were in attendance the fifth received the question "isn't there any way we can get rid of you people." This riding already has set up its committee room and from what happened Saturday it looks like we will be allowed to work.

However most of the ridings have not yet established their committee rooms so we do not have much of a picture.

Hope that the decision taken on McAlpine meets your approval. The group decided to give him the status of a candidate for membership for a period of six months, at that time a decision as to his status will be made. You of course were correct that everyone has the gravest doubts as to his suitability including those who vote his acceptance. You can be sure that in the discussion a very rounded picture of this man was drawn for everyone's benefit. I myself do not think that he will be of much value to the group, however we are not a mutual admiration circle and one never likes to think that anyone has shown all his wares, you like to think that anyone who expresses a desire to be a revolutionary has some possibilities of being one. You can be sure that after the six month period the case of McAlpine will be considered from a very objective point of view. No one ~~has~~ holds to the opinion that the security of the group is in anyway involved here.

Hugh took a week-end trip to Windsor to renew acquaintances and to look into ~~the~~ the reactions of one of our former associates turned Fablist, to the McAlpine-Ford defection. Havent talked to him yet as to what he found.

What has happened to funds out there. Havent received anything for quite a while and we will need some money if and when you issue instructions to head your way.

warmest regards

Ross

1954-1955?

Barr launching
the Workers Vanguard (Dec 1955)

1.

DISCUSSION BULLETIN ON THE SITUATION IN THE EAST

Since our gathering last August, events have transpired very rapidly. At the time, the leading cadres of the movement discussed and assessed the extent and success of the entry. The situation in the east was summed up as follows:

1. The initial stage of the entry was essentially complete. The bulk of the cadres had successfully entered, although some important forces, namely the oldest members of the movement, had up to this point been unable to obtain membership in the mass movement. The comrades who had successfully obtained memberships were, on the whole, favorably received by the active elements in the clubs. Those comrades who were unable to obtain memberships were able to work around the clubs to one degree or another.

2. The second stage of our entry was in the process of taking on form and shape. We were beginning modestly to identify ourselves with a more left program in the clubs, thereby starting a process of political differentiation within the movement, even though on a relatively low level. More intensive work was reserved for individual contacts. This work had already born considerable fruit. Recruits to the party were made from elements who were active in and well integrated in the CCF and the youth movement. In a word, we were making concrete progress. Within a year the branch has recruited ten new comrades, seven of them directly from the CCF. We had elevated ourselves to some important positions in the movement. We had been able at various conventions to put forward left resolutions through some of the clubs. This was the situation which existed at the time of our gathering last summer.

But in order to properly evaluate our work from the time of our entry until the present, it is necessary to reflect back to the situation in the CCF in Ontario at the time of our entry. Traditionally an entry into a reformist organization by the revolutionary movement is made in order to come in contact with ~~the~~ a developing left wing and to assist it in developing in a revolutionary direction. Our entry in Ontario, however, was made under different conditions. At the time of our entry there were no discernable forces moving in a leftward direction. As a result of this, any activity in which we engaged was very easily followed by the right wing. As a result of the complete absence of any leftist tendency outside of ourselves, we inevitably became the centre of leftist thought and activity. The Provincial leadership, lacking any real support in the ranks in the form of a secondary leadership, could see the probable course of development, once the workers began to move into the CCF. Leftist sentiment would come into contact first with the revolutionists in the absence of ~~the~~ broader leftist tendencies.

Realizing that they would have to come to grips with us sooner or

later, the leadership decided that the best course was sooner. This idea was expressed by a right winger from one of the clubs when he was confronted by one of the expelled comrades. The efforts of a stool pigeon was not the reason, but only a convenient lever for the expulsions. The expulsions came about, not because of our aggressive activity in the clubs; we always steered clear of power struggles in any form, political or organizational; but was rather the inevitable result of the complete demoralization of the clubs by the leadership and the leadership's long term lack of confidence in their ability to retain their present positions through the democratic processes. This idea was expressed clearly by a member of the provincial executive in arguing before the provincial council against admitting Kane's membership, that there were only one or two persons in the entire movement who could handle Kane in debate. This was a striking commentary on the fears which grip the provincial leadership. No doubt this fear grips the leadership of other sections of the movement but they are not able to act with the same impunity, having as they do a more active and critical membership.

The net result of the expulsions was this:

1. Out of eleven comrades entered, eight lost their memberships in the adult movement and one his membership in the youth group. Still another was refused a youth membership.

2. The right wing leadership has been successful in cutting off much of the potential support we had hoped to get early in the struggle. The present situation is ~~this~~ characterized not only by a reduction in the number of entered comrades, but also by a much less favorable climate in which to work.

while the situation is to a certain extent still in a state of flux, it is now clear that we have entered a new situation qualitatively different from last summer. The clubs as they exist were never a highly fruitful arena of work but we had been able to use our position in the clubs to do contact work outside of the clubs. Our most fruitful work has been in the youth movement where a trickle of new blood was beginning to enter. This was the source of all our recruiting. For this reason the right wing youth leadership has been particularly vicious, resulting in the expulsion of the club where our forces were concentrated, even in the absence of any provocation other than our being around the club and refusing to run for cover once we had been expelled.

Right wing Says No

It is unfortunate that the right wing leadership moved against us and expelled the bulk of our cadres. Such an eventuality, of course, was not alien to our orientation or understanding. Our mass movement document clearly pointed to the inevitability of splits and expulsions.

What we didn't anticipate was that it would happen so ~~quickly~~ early in our efforts to build a base under our cadres. We decided to enter the CCF but the leadership has said "No you are not!". This does not however, mean that we change our orientation. The entry tactic, which was the means of implementing the orientation, was not predicated on the cooperation of the present leadership of the movement, but on the probable course of development of the Canadian working class. For this reason, our orientation must remain the same. Nothing has happened to change our belief that the Canadian workers in their mass will turn first to the CCF as they awake to political consciousness.

What has changed is the tactical implementation of our orientation. We cannot ignore the fact that the right wing leadership has said, "No, you are not going to enter". For the time being they are in a position to make their decision stick. We now have to begin all over again to build up our forces in the clubs. This will be done in the process of further recruiting. Where possible, we will recruit directly from the CCF. Other recruits will be sent into the CCF. As long as we were integrated in the clubs we recruited to our party in the process of building up the CCF clubs. Our expulsion from the movement presents the problem of how to get to the politically awakening workers who are not yet active in the CCF. These will be our potential recruits.

To effectively meet this problem, we must move forward more openly on the political plane. While our integration was progressing satisfactorily, we steered away from sharp political struggles. Most of our comrades were identified as good party (CCF) members, leftists to be sure, but not in a factional way. The clubs as such were not an arena for broad struggle on a high political plane but rather an arena to meet the activists and demonstrate our devotion to the socialist cause. In the course of our work the most promising activists who responded favorably to our activities were singled out for a more intense political education.

Present Situation and Our Tasks

The situation at present is this: Trotskyism has been slandered by the right wing leadership as being synonymous with "conspiracy, force and ~~the~~ violence" etc. At the moment we have to say that they have been quite successful. That they have been successful is testimony to the low political level of the movement. Our efforts to rally support for ourselves on the basis of internal party democracy has been unsuccessful. Our task now is to make Trotskyism synonymous not with conspiracy, but with genuine working class politics. ~~Thus~~ The opening shot in this campaign was fired with a mimeographed document drawing political lessons of the expulsions. This document has been circulated as widely as possible within the movement.

The ~~genuine~~ next stage of our work will perforce be different from the previous stage. The comrades whom are now out, are out for a long time. We are not going to sneak in again by the back door by playing dead or by hiding our identity with Trotskyist politics. Those presently out or expelled will get back in only when a powerful

left wing develops within the movement.

The general line of our activity in the period to come is being demonstrated by our activity in the youth group which was expelled. the expelled club is continuing to function under our leadership even though some members of the club are not party members or even contacts in the immediate sense of the word. If it is possible we should maintain and expand the activities of the group so that it will be a challenge to the official youth movement of the CCF. This means that we will be competing with the official youth movement for the adherence of the politically awakening youth at the same time as we conduct a fight to be part of the movement.

Parallel with this activity on the part of comrades in the youth movement, we have made plans for a series of public forums to be sponsored by those comrades who have never been able to obtain memberships. The subjects and the material covered will be directed to CCF'ers and workers moving towards the CCF. At present the Toronto comrades are running a weekly study group on Marxian economics. It is planned to continue this activity. Efforts will be made to broaden the attendance as new contacts appear. Other activities of an independent type should be engaged in from time to time as opportunities present themselves. Serious workers as they move closer to the CCF will be attracted by our activities and will begin to come around our own centre. In the absence of a broad left current in the CCF our own centre will tend to become more and more the centre of leftward moving workers who find no real attraction in the CCF as it exists at the moment.

The following will probably constitute the different phases of our activity in the coming period.

I. Those comrades still remaining in the CCF will conduct themselves the same way the rest of the comrades did before their expulsion. The party must follow this work more closely than ever, giving aid and advice, exchanging experiences and planning work, since the group still remaining in are, by and large, our most inexperienced comrades. The work of the expelled and barred comrades will be of considerable aid to them since the former will be able to say and what the present level of the movement curbs entered comrades from saying and doing. In turn, it will be the responsibility of the entered comrades to integrate and develop those who through our independent activities are directed into the clubs.

Not only will the entered comrades in the next period keep the rest of our forces in contact with developments in the constituency clubs, aiding us in maintaining a correct orientation, but in many cases they can be instrumental in opening CCF activities to the participation of our barred and expelled forces. Through election work, membership drives and routine membership work opened up to them

by those still in the UCF, our expelled forces will be able to make contact with awakening layers of workers that the expulsions were designed to isolate us from. Since the entire work of the party is to make contact with and develop the political consciousness of the working class who are destined to go through the UCF, (in the coming period to develop and organize the left wing), the work of those now in the UCF is the most important work confronting our cadre. All our efforts must be directed to make our forces more effective and increase their strength and influence.

2. Comrades who have never been able to obtain memberships in the mass movement will operate more and more openly as Trotskyists politically, carrying various activities such as the public forums mentioned above. They will appear as a group fighting for the right of Trotskyists to be in the UCF.

3. Comrades who have been expelled will be more or less associated with the second group politically. Typical activities for this group would be the building of the youth group mentioned above whose main tactical line would be guided by a fight to get back into the official movement. This group is in a good position to advance our revolutionary program by applying it to the immediate problems confronting the youth. The activities of these comrades could become a valuable source of contact for the party with subsequent recruiting.

The purpose of the above activities will be to build up our forces still in the clubs. In the immediate period ahead, however, the possibilities of fruitful work in the clubs has diminished, due to the witch hunt atmosphere that has been created. We must recognize this fact and orient ourselves accordingly, so that our forces do not become frustrated or demoralized by looking for results where it is not justified.

Our task is the building of the revolutionary party. This task would confront us even if the UCF did not exist. Over the past two years our main work has been almost entirely within the UCF clubs, but we must not let this fact lead us to the conclusion that if we cannot be in the clubs then all is lost. There are other arenas of work and we must seek them out when one field, even though it was useful to us for a period, no longer has the same possibilities. Along with the independent activities of the party we must seek out the political workers wherever they are, in the unions etc., by individual contact work. The branch must have members present at all public meetings, whether sponsored by the UCF or the trade unions. We must take the floor and advance our program on every possible occasion, seek out those who respond favorably to our proposals and get to know them. The coming period will offer increased opportunities along this line.

The Struggle on a Higher Plane

The struggle has now entered a higher stage. Our long term tactic

of integration has been halted. The prolongation of the post war boom has had its effects in the CCF. The activity of the clubs has sunk to an all time low. Those ~~marxist~~ activists who have stuck to the movement have become more and more demoralized. This is in large part the result of the party leadership moving farther and farther to the right, dropping all pretense of a socialist perspective for the movement while activity on a club level was never very high, the situation since the expulsions has become even worse. The right wing elements have become extremely hostile while poisoning the atmosphere in the clubs. The less political elements have become intimidated by the vociferous right wing as well as demoralized and confused. There is no doubt that the trials and expulsions coming at this particular time and in the way they did have dealt us a very damaging blow, and consequently the development of the whole left. This situation will exist until the clubs begin to grow.

In the meantime, the struggle between the right wing and ourselves has entered a higher stage. While our integration was proceeding satisfactorily, we did not seek to put ourselves too far in advance of the existing leftist sentiments in the clubs. Our task was to identify ourselves with the better activities and tradition of the movement, while at the same time pushing the clubs, wherever possible, to engage in activity which would attract worker militants, thus creating a more fruitful arena of work for us. We understood that the forces which would constitute the revolutionary party were still on the outside of the CCF, while we were in the ~~existing~~ clubs we used the CCF and its attractive power to the developing class conscious workers, in order to ferret out the better elements, activate them in the clubs and show them how we operate. The task is still the same but the method of accomplishing this task has changed. We must step up our political activity in the form of a variety of independent activities which will have the character, not of an opponent political party, in the eyes of worker militants or serious socialist elements in the CCF, but rather the character of a left faction which has been expelled but wants to get back in.

Due to circumstances beyond our control, we have not been able to go to press with any of the series of pamphlets that we decided to publish at our gathering last summer. The situation ~~has~~ appears to be clearing up now, however, and the first of the series should be out in the near future. When these pamphlets are available, their circulation will be a primary activity of our forces. But even with the publication of the pamphlets, our political needs will not have been met; for above all, the marxists need a press at their disposal with which they can analyse and interpret the day to day developments and problems of the Canadian working class. We recognized this at our convention in our decision to promote the publication of a west coast left CCF press in the early winter.

Need for a Press

The absence of a press which we control or at least have a large

Influence in is being felt more than ever before. we gave up labor Challenge at the time of entry, not because there was no longer a real need for such a press, or because there was no mass response or feeling for the ideas which it expressed, but because it was necessary in order to carry out the entry tactic. It was a concession to the right wing leadership. We came to the conclusion that the benefits to be gained in the entry outweighed the immediate loss of the press. A return to the publication of a press, either in cooperation with broader leftist elements or entirely as a party effort, was only a matter of time, dictated by our experiences in the process of our entrant work. The principal problem was the circulation of the press without exposing our comrades to disciplinary action by the leadership.

It is true that owning a paper of our own is not a principle with us. we would be quite happy to share such a paper with a broad left tendency if one existed, in order to win over this tendency to our revolutionary program. It would mean adjusting ourselves temporarily to the existing level of development of a section of the class. However this is not the situation in the East. No left, outside of ourselves, exists. This has both its good and bad points. The fact that no centrist leadership is in existence means that the field is wide open for us. We have no competitors who are on the scene at the moment.

The existence of a press of the left in B.C. which could become the vehicle for our ideas would go a long way toward solving the problem here in Ontario. For the period ahead, this paper would solve our needs, at least until some broader forces began to develop here. It will be upon our shoulders, those of us who are in the UCF as well as those who are now out, that the circulation of this ~~new~~ B.C. UCF left press will fall. Such a press will be a big step forward in pulling together dissident forces in the Eastern movement and shaping them into a viable left. The circulation of this press will legitimize the struggle of those who have been barred by the right, to be part of the movement and will aid in the generation of the forces that will result in our re-admission.

In our opinion, the publication of the B.C. left UCF press is a responsibility of the national movement. Should left forces in B.C. whom we desire to have identified with the ~~movement~~ paper continue to hold back, we feel confident that the best of them will swing back into line with the actual publication of such a paper. Without a paper there is grave danger that the left in B.C., having suffered a series of defeats over the years without drawing any lessons from them, will be dissipated. with the publication of "Box 16" and the response accorded it, ~~with~~ a valuable experience has been gained and a base of operations established. The PC feels that we must move forward now with the actual publication of the B.C. left UCF press. Recent conflicts with the right wing there have no doubt made wider layers receptive to the idea. The pre-convention and convention experience should provide an excellent occasion to launch the project.

In its beginning, of course, such a paper would of necessity be a modest venture, probably a monthly, four page and about the size of the "Outlook". The centre should be prepared to send its most experienced personnel to the west coast to stay there and aid in this important project as long as this aid is necessary. Certain difficulties of personnel and finances, in view of our considerable ~~xxxxxxxx~~ obligations around the book store would be experienced. These are secondary considerations and ways and means must be found to solve them.

CCF Move Checks Leftist Groups

Vancouver, April 17 (CP).—Approval of two resolutions supporting action against left-wing elements was reported following Saturday's meeting here of the British Columbia-Yukon section of the CCF Party.

The annual convention sessions were held behind closed doors to consider an executive report which blamed "Trotskyist" forces for the party's loss of membership and poor showing in the 1952 provincial election. Earlier in the day delegates attending the three-day convention, heard greetings from British Labor Party leader, Clement Attlee.

No official announcement was made following the closed sessions but it was reported that the two executive proposals were passed with a comfortable majority.

Both proposals concerned Rodney Young, a leading light in the defunct socialist fellowship within the CCF, who was suspended from the party after he said he was proud to be called a Communist. He said he resigned before the executive suspended him.

It was not known what the vote

was on the first recommendation but on the second it was 89 to 66 in favor.

In the morning, British Labor leader Clement Attlee, who went through a battle with leftist elements in his party recently, told delegates: "Don't get disturbed about splits."

"The two factions always come together against a common enemy. In every healthy party there is always a difference between left and right."

Twenty-three members of the North Vancouver CCF association were suspended recently for

sponsoring a meeting at which Mr. Young spoke.

The convention is reported to have passed these proposals of the executive:

That it "ratify the provincial council decision of Sept. 18, 1954, approving the executive's handling of the Rodney Young case;

"Ratify the provincial council decision of Dec. 11, 1954, refusing to disturb the provincial executive resolution of Dec. 1, 1954, which declared 'no CCF organization shall permit Rodney Young to speak under its auspices.'"

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ME. 84

Secret CCF Meet On 'Trotskyist Plot'

Vancouver, April 16.—(Special)

—Bitter strife within Co-operative Commonwealth Federation ranks will be argued today behind closed doors.

The left wing of the party showed at the annual provincial convention here that it will

counter-attack strongly against charges of irresponsible conduct and "Trotskyism" levelled against them by the party executive.

A narrow majority of the delegates has shown it supports the executive's charges.

The "Trotskyists" are said to number no more than a baker's dozen. But they are said to have captured a leftist group dissatisfied with the increasing "respectability" of the CCF movement as shown by the policies it has enacted since the revolutionary Regina manifesto of 23 years ago.

DISRUPTION

The executive claimed in its formal report, which will be deliberated in secret today, that "Trotskyite" disruption within the party ranks was largely responsible for failure to win the 1952 provincial election, which saw Social Credit form its first government in any province except Alberta.

Interest at the convention, for which almost 300 delegates have registered to set a 15-year record, appears to centre over the creation and later disbanding on executive orders of a Socialist fellowship within the CCF.

The CCF executive blames this fellowship for having weakened the party.

REVIVAL

In the last six months there has been "revival of the Trotskyist conspiracy" within the CCF provincial movement here which has served to reduce membership, the executive said in a private report distributed to delegates.

Evidence of a revived conspiracy was seen in the spate of anonymous letters sent all CCF members attacked its leadership and hitting a strong leftist line.

Stanton Tells Stand

Holds Word Trotskyism Synonym for Socialism

Trotskyism—a word, much in the public prints lately—is simply another name for socialism, according to one of the 14 men and women who were recently expelled from the Ontario wing of the Socialist CCF party on the grounds that they were Trotskyites.

George (Paddy) Stanton, of Toronto, said yesterday that to him Trotskyism is: "just another word for socialism—for orthodox Marxism which is not guilty of any of the crimes of the Russian bureaucracy and is uncorrupted by Liberal reformism."

A letter from Colin Cameron (CCF, Nanaimo) defending Mr. Stanton's membership has also had repercussions far beyond the meeting which overrode his plea and expelled the 14 men and women.

Mr. Stanton said he was convinced that Finance Minister Harris, who entered the controversy through a speech to a Liberal gathering here last weekend, was trying to smear the CCF Members of Parliament who voted against German rearmament by branding them as Trotskyists.

"The term Trotskyist has been raised in the last few months by the CCF leadership," Mr. Stanton said, "to brand their political opponents within the party who would hold it to a Socialist path.

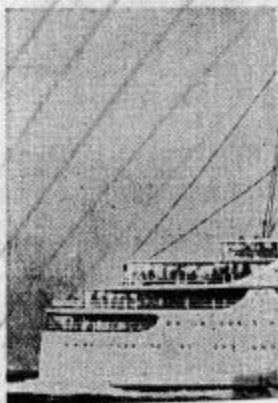
"According to them it is 'a conspiracy,' it is 'subversive,' and 'authoritarian.' In that light Mr. Cameron was quite correct in dissociating himself from Trotskyism."

In the Commons Tuesday, in what was plainly a reply to Mr.

Harris' charges, Mr. Cameron said anyone who called him a Trotskyite was an unmitigated liar, an unprincipled scoundrel and a contemptible coward.

Mr. Stanton said there was no secret about his being a Trotskyite. He had been widely known as one when he first took out membership in the CCF in 1934 and when on the West Coast he met and worked with Mr. Cameron.

Cameron's letter to the Ontario CCF, he said, was a defense of Stanton's right to remain in the CCF and a plea for the CCF to remain an all-inclusive party where all labor views, Trotskyist included, could be freely discussed.



He's Liar Who Calls Me Trotskyite: Cameron

By GEORGE BAIN

Ottawa, April 19 (Staff). — If Finance Minister Harris called Colin Cameron (CCF, Nanaimo) a Trotskyite or a Trotskyist sympathizer—as he appeared to do—he had an answer today in the strongest terms the Commons has heard in a long time.

"If anyone, by a combination of statements outside this chamber and references within this chamber should ever impute to me the charge of being a Trotskyite or a Trotskyist sympathizer," said Mr. Cameron, "he would not only be an unmitigated liar but he would be an unprincipled scoundrel and a contemptible coward."

Mr. Cameron was saved from being called to order for unparliamentary language by the fact that it was not directed at an identified person.

On Saturday in a Toronto speech, the finance minister had said the expulsion of a number of Trotskyites from the Ontario CCF should not be regarded as something unusual. Similar charges could be laid against some Federal CCF members, he said.

On Monday, when the Commons returned after the Easter recess, CCF Leader Coldwell demanded that "the minister name the federal members to whom he refers."

Mr. Harris said the report was

not correct that he said that any of the federal CCFers was a Trotskyite. However, he also said his remarks were prompted by reports of a letter which Mr. Cameron had written in support of one of those expelled.

Mr. Cameron today took note of Mr. Harris' denial of the accuracy of the report.

"Nevertheless," he went on, "I cannot refrain from expressing my regret that he did not take advantage of the first opportunity he had to correct this false statement when he was approached. I am told, by the man who reported the meeting . . . and asked if he would care to elaborate on his statement that there were Trotskyites among the CCF group."

Mr. Cameron said he had been 20 years in public life—longer than the finance minister—and had yet to be misquoted. This, he said, appeared to be an occupational disease affecting Liberal cabinet ministers.

(Citizenship and Immigration Minister Pickersgill recently has complained of misquotation or incomplete quotation, notably on the subject of babies and immigrants.)

Mr. Cameron said it was true he had written a letter in behalf

of one of the men expelled, Pat Stanton. He had done so, he said, because he had known Mr. Stanton for many years on the Pacific coast.

"If, as it now appears, Paddy Stanton has, since I knew him on the Pacific coast, become a Trotskyite, and if, on account of that fact he has to some extent betrayed my trust and delivered me to my enemies," Mr. Cameron said, "I am still not sorry that I wrote that letter. When you reach my time of life, you realize that such things as requital of

past favors, loyalty, decency and honesty are more important than are even the most glittering political prizes.

"I want to say this now categorically. I am not now nor have I ever been a Trotskyite. I am not, nor have I ever been, a Trotskyite sympathizer. Anyone who states that I am is an unmitigated liar."

The CCF, he said, was the only party to which he had ever belonged, and democratic Socialist principles were the only political principles he had ever endorsed.

Toronto Globe and Star
Early 1955
(re: CCF - Dec 1954)

1955-06 Tue 99-90.jpg

The Expulsion of 14 From the CCF

You are, of course, to be excused for inaccurate reporting that might appear in your article on the expulsion of fourteen people from the CCF. The CCF claims to be a people's party yet the present leadership thought it justified to make the session dealing with this matter a secret one and barred the press. Since the business of a people's party would seem to me to be the business of the people and, in the interest of simple accuracy, I would point out to you that your report that the expulsion decision was upheld unanimously by the convention delegates is far from correct.

There was wide variation in the vote on the individual cases. A large core of delegates adopted a policy of not voting at all of abstaining. It would seem that many delegates questioned the validity of the evidence presented against the accused. For instance it was pointed out that the accused came from a common source and was essentially the same, one person who was originally charged by the Provincial

Executive was completely exonerated by the Provincial Council. Or perhaps many delegates considered the whole charge of being members of a party within the party that the fourteen are alleged to have joined, to be the right of any uncommitted persons interested in having the party, in democratic discussion, adopt their views. This was the essence of MP Coldwell's statement to the convention, which completely ignored the charge of a Trotskyist conspiracy in the movement and defended one of the accused as "that new too common phenomenon, the man without an axe to grind—that is except the axe of socialism."

I notice that you neglected to quote one portion of the defense of the fourteen—evidence that must have had considerable effect upon the attitude of many of the delegates—not one of the delegates was charged with committing overt acts in line with their binding alleged "authoritarian" ideas and with belonging to a "conspiracy" which one would think was organized to commit authori-

tarian acts. In fact it was admitted by the Provincial Council that the accused's records of work in the movement were very good ones.

You report that the Ontario CCF Executive accuses the fourteen of having "infiltrated" the CCF . . . meaning that they are not genuine CCFers. The delegates knew otherwise. Paddy Stanton, for instance, holds a membership card dated 1936, another comes from a family of foundation members of the CCF, another was provincial CCF youth organizer, a post not usually won by Johnny-come-lateres.

Toronto: Kit Mitchell.

The decision of the convention to exclude the press from the deliberations resulting in expulsion of the fourteen naturally makes it difficult to report fully and accurately on the situation. In view of the public interest, The Globe and Mail proceeded to report it as comprehensively as possible under the circumstances.

—Editor.

with double-wide sidewalk of cement, put in by the city, with six others of this residential subdivision of seven streets. Also, along Seneca Avenue's sidewalk extended a green bank upon which stood tall stately trees varying in heights up to about 75 feet. Cement hydro poles dot the avenue and the street signs were put in bright and new as Toronto's own.

Island homeowners, being land-payers and taxpayers, are proud of their avenues; and the front lots along this and its other streets have been beautifully kept up with green lawns, flower beds, and other efforts of care and attention worthy of a respectable residential district. No buses ride Algonquin Island so there was scarcely a flaw to mar the newness of Algonquin's pavements, which cost the city thousands of dollars.

Last spring there was talk of a small seawall being built. I believe it was a couple of "talks" off the actual digging stage, when it turned into an echo. At any rate, it was never started; and this year the water is very high. Undoubtedly, it would have saved the avenue at much less cost. Now the bank is gone and the

July 29, 1955

Pat (Mitchell)
Bruce Radwin

Dear Wally and Carmel;

My first letter---the first of our two-way correspondence. And the first militant-which you will have to subscribe to as soon as you get an address of some permanency

I hope that you are on the way of getting settled down--that you both have managed to get jobs. What did you get, Carmel? Did the apprenticeship deal work out as you had expected, Wally? Everybody here is working but Pat. She has been making the rounds of the key plants the past week but a good many of them are on holidays. Of course there are lots of jobs but she wants to get into a union plant, and a large one where we can do some political work. Bruce slept in one morning so took advantage of his absence from Anchor Cap to go around to General Steelwares. He got in --in the shipping department. This is one of the few Steelworkers Union locals where I know there is opposition to the leadership--I believe that it is under the influence of the Stalinists. So it looks like a good place to be. Bruce says the job is easy so barring any layoffs we are in a good position to make contacts. Bill's job as a pressman still is holding on. So you can see that all our basic needs are now being met---and as old man Marx said there can't be any culture, any generalization of thought, until these needs --that little pay envelope --are met.

Tonight we are holding a social--its going to be a bit sad not to see the two of you on the dance floor. When you come up for the furniture let us know in advance, and be sure that both of you come up and we will arrange a little reunion. I just came back from the liquor store.

But this stuff above is by no means the most interesting development since you left us. Tonight we will be on the picket line again down at the Palais Royal. This Negro fellow referred to in the newspaper clipping and the leaflet we put out was tossed out of the hall on Monday night. We of course did not hear anything about it until Tuesday suppertime. Bruce came in at supper with the paper and we got talking about it. Suddenly we thought that it would be a first class project for the youth group to take up. The group was planning to meet that night at the park so everything could be taken up then and there. Well, everyone at the youth meeting reacted with great enthusiasm. They struck off persons to work up a leaflet, to prepare signs, to work out the slogans, to run off a petition, to notify various people to come out and give a hand.

So the ~~Tuesday~~ ~~morning~~ Wednesday afternoon was spent in a great flurry doing all these things. We made 8 picket signs---I have typed up the various slogans for you on a separate piece of paper along with the wording of the petition. We worked out the leaflet and mimeographed it. I did not go down on Wednesday night ---thought I had better give someone else a chance you know how bossy I am. Well it came off splendidly. Practically everyone came back in here afterwards...and we heard all about it. The crowd at the hall was not very big as it rained even while we were picketing but we turned back dozens of people. The picket line was joined by a great many although of course we were its stable backbone. I gather it went as high as fifty. We distributed all the leaflets we had---750 copies. Got a possible two hundred names of people on the petition--a good number youths--many possible contacts. Everybody pitched in in good spirit and everyone got a real bang out of it. Jerry Hurvitz got so worried away that when cars slowed down on

Gord Garbig?

-3-

We got a letter from Goerge wascher the other day--he did not stop at Edmon-ton but went right on out to the coast. He job a job somewhere away up the coast on a construction job.

Would be down to see you folks this weekend if it were not for many other matters. Gord G just told me that he is heading your way on Saturday on a noe way trip. He is flying over the England to get the lowdown on his new job. However here it is a holiday wek-end--you will probably be out fishing and then I also suppose you are still with the folks so that there is no room--so we probably wont see you until you come here

Hope this note finds Joyce well

warmest regrads

Ross--569 Yonge
and the gang.

August 29, 1955

Dear Wally and Carmel;

It was certainly good to find an envelope in your handwriting under the door this morning. It brought about an immediate reaction. I mailed you a parcel that I had been intending to mail you for some while. Within a few days you should receive it. It contains a pair of pants of yours. I was strongly tempted to keep them, both since you threw them away and since they fit me very well and they are very good pants too. You threw them away along with some other pants. My impression is that you thought that the stain on them was irremovable. Well I took them next door and the stain came out. They must be worth about \$15. And while you relinquished all claim through your disposing of them I have mailed them off to you. I also enclosed a piece of the material that made up the suit just in case Carmel you need to repair them sometime in the future. The parcel also contains some of your stamp collection that you accidentally left in the bottom drawer of the chest in my room, along with an early report card from school. Since you saved this this long you might as well continue. I have saved a few things like this myself, for instance a phototaken of me when I was about 19 when I had a lot of dark wavy hair. I have also enclosed the latest issue of the Militant and my own copy of the last Fourth International.

I would like you to return the F.I. to me after you have finished with it. There are two articles that I am sure both of you will get a great deal out of. I am referring to Comrade Cannon's article on the IWW. You will recall that that is the organization that Paddy was a participant in. It played a prominent role in the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919. It was the father of the idea that all the workers regardless of skill should be in one big union and as Cannon shows was really the first revolutionary party on this continent. The other article which I know you will get much out of is the one on the Gold Coast Revolution. The Gold Coast of itself is not too an important an area of this globe but it is in Africa where the most revolutionary struggles in the world are taking place right now and we will hear much more of it. As for the rest of the issue I do not feel that you should take up your time, there are so many more writings that you will more readily grasp and will answer questions more immediately facing us.

So much for the parcel...and its contents.

Now for the chesterfield. As your exclusive agent in this matter I have a proposition to present to you. I did not advertise it as Jeanette has come back to the city and when she saw it while I was showing her our new place with Carmel's curtains on the cupboard where we keep the cups and Wally's wiring she said that she would like to buy it. However a few days later she phoned me that she had changed her mind. I was again on the verge of advertising it when Pat made the following offer. You will recall you said to try to get \$35 but take \$25 if necessary. Well Pat offers \$30. She cannot pay it right away but she will give me the money to send on to you by the end of the next month. She makes the \$30 offer on the basis that that is what I asked her for it. I doubt that it is really worth more. Bill says that he saw the identical chesterfield downtown for \$48. I think that that is a good price for it, particularly to a comrade. Not that you have any money I know, you have no more than she has. Business is a dirty thing at best and business between comrades has even dirtier possibilities. By that token you might say well lets not do business with comrades. Generally a good rule. But she wants it and I figure that we wont get more than \$30 from anyone else. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ If I do not hear from you before the end of this month I will let her take it off to the new apartment that she has set herself up in.

Glad to hear that you made it despite the terrific load that you took down last trip. Go easy on that car as we need it for you to come up and visit us again.

From your explanation of the situation Wally I can see no advantage whatsoever in working for a contractor. My impression was that it was only preferable because it would speed the day towards your becoming a journeyman. Now it seems that it would do just the opposite. It is always better to be in a shop. As a journeyman I would imagine that you would be working pretty much by yourself or only with one or two others, possibly often with a boss. In a shop you would be with the run of the mill worker day in and day out. On the maintenance you would be pretty free to wander around the shop, it should provide an excellent ~~chance~~ opportunity to meet the best elements in the entire place. You won't even be stuck to a single department. Yes, I think that it is a good idea from the information you give us to wait till the union offers you a plant job.

Glad to hear that you are working again Carmel, nothing like having some financial independence eh waht. ~~More~~ More interesting than hanging around the house. The only bad thing is Joyce. However I gather from Wally that she will be well looked after. Hope that you have lots of time after work to give her the love and affection that a child needs.

Did you read the trial pamphlet together. Slower of course and there is always the embarrassment of trying to pronounce words that are not familiar. But it always impressed me as a good thing, the way that Vern used to read to Anne and himself as she did the ironing and other more fixed position house duties. Of course the reader always loses some of the sense when he has to concentrate on pronouncing the words and devaluing the emphasis. But this seems to be to be compensated for by two people developing together and having the benefit of discussing with one another any parts that either one may find unclear. Often when you think that a passage is perfectly clear to yourself but when someone else does not find it clear and you discuss it you find aspects of it that you yourself did not quite get.

Yes, there are instances where certain questions are not answered in full. Fortunately there is no limit to knowledge, it continues to open up. We answer one question and in so doing see new questions posed. Life would be pretty dull if it were otherwise wouldn't it? It would be just a bunch of rules, formulas that you would have to learn.... and having learned them there would be nothing. I suppose however the questions that

you say Cannon doesn't answer are one that we certainly do have the answer for and are possibly posed right then and there. But the secret of propaganda is to answer the questions that are absolutely necessary to answer ~~and no more~~..and noXX more. Say what is necessary to be said. For instance when you have a contact and you are trying to find out what he now knows you take him forward in our direction. ~~Everyone is full of all kinds of questions. When we first talk to them you can see dozens of basic ideas of ours that he doesn't understand..But, you sometimes in the course of him saying only four or five sentences. He might make an anti-semitic statement at the same time as he implies support of the war, opposition to unionism and stupid prejudices towards socialism. The best tactic is to overlook for the time several of these falsities and try to pick out the key one. Sometimes having in a simple manner knocked the props out of the key question you open the way for all the other stupidities to be undermined. That is one talent that Cannon has always impressed me with...the old man had it too—I have seen some very brilliant witty opponent of Trotsky raise what seemed to me at the time a whole razzle dazzle serious of questions that seemed really stunning blows. But the old man would probe his way through the maze of fast talk and clever phrases and find the meat of the question. And it always seemed to boil down to some basic and very clear question which as soon as it was correctly posed by the old man even I could see the answer and see it crystal clear.~~ (con't)

(series)

Of course what you think are important question that are not satisfactorily answered, you have to realize that the pamphlet was not, the answers were not prepared for a person with your political level. They were prepared for a raw cross section of Minneapolis population who had been conscripted to jury duty. You see questions that others wouldn't see. Probably I would see questions that you wouldn't and so on down the line.

Now you will have to read the Goldman companion pamphlet. You will get a great kick out of it. It is much simpler than Cannon's. And then after that you will have to read the third trial pamphlet. This you will find the most interesting of all. It is written by a Spanish comrade Grandizio Munis. It is a fundamental attack on the whole political conduct of Cannon, Goldman and company. I know that when I read Munis' criticism I was very uneasy. But then Cannon takes up the reply. And is this an example of putting aside a lot of what turn out to be secondary issues, probing down into the meat of the matter. Do you have these other two trial pamphlets?

As a matter of fact next time you come up bring back the material that belongs in the branch library and then we will go through the bookstore together and building up a bit of a working library for you.

But to get back to those questions that you do not think are answered in full. If you would take time out to enumerate a few of them I will try and suggest some other material that we have that deals with these questions. I hope that you can manage to put aside at least one night a week to read political material. Why not put aside our old Wednesday night. Incidentally I raised the matter of your moving to Montreal the meeting after you came to settle up the furniture. You see I had been hoping until then that you had not really made up your minds. So we removed you to the status of members at large, meaning that as soon as you are able you should send what ever help that you can afford to me direct and not Hugh; meaning also of course that I on behalf of everyone will attempt to keep in touch with you and help you in whatever political work that you feel able to undertake.

I see that the CCF has just held a Quebec convention. The only news reported is that they have changed their name to the Social Democratic Party of Quebec. A rose by any other name smells little different. In a few months after you have got settled down we will have to make contact with the PDS de Quebec, I am sure there will be some worthwhile elements around it. But all that later.

Everyone here is fine--Pat has some kind of throat infection but I gather it is not serious. The Olsens have all had the flu but again just a passing complaint. No one is unemployed. Bill V has been off and on--but right now he is working, sort of a fill in man for fellows on their holidays. Kit has an excellent job at Square D. She is making about \$60 a week on a simple clean factory job. Bruce's job seems to be holding on well. Ken is now in the union at GSW and so is Harry at the packinghouse.

Jim's address is 544 Church Street, Apt 5 Toronto
Harry's address is 88 Homewood, Apt 205, Toronto

Jim is on holidays right now and seems to be taking to bachelorhood quite well. In the elections to send delegates to a special UPWA convention in Chicago he ran a close fifth in a four man race. This speaks well for his prestige I think. He figures that he will be elected as a delegate to the CCL convention this October.

And now to take up your question --has there been anything of real interest come up on the political scene. This is the third page so I won't say much. Of course there is lots doing. Probably the most interesting is Jerry's considerable success in passing 4 out of 5 resolutions that we drew up for the coming CCL convention, at his last local meeting. A few days prior to his local meeting we had the second of our broad trade union gatherings. This one was not quite as successful as the first where I think I told you we had 20 trade union activists turn up. This time we had about half that but the absentees had good reasons. The poor attendance doesn't mark any setback, in fact three of them were new people. It was a damnably hot and sticky Monday night and we heard at the last moment that many would be unable to attend for reason of holidays shift changeover etc. At this one we discussed the approaching unity of the ~~AWU~~ CCL(CIO) and TLC(AFL) in the course of which we posed a sort of policy. A few nights later Jerry and I sat down and drew up 5 resolutions. They demanded that the new union body hold annual and not biennial conventions, that the basis of representation be much more democratic,

neutral line of politics (which means in practice supporting the boss parties already in office) that the CCL unions endorse the OCF as their political arm.; a resolution calling for a union drive of 30 hour week for 40 hours pay and a legislative drive for a legal work week of 40 hours and not 48 as it now is in Ontario; a resolution endorsing George Burt 's stand of by-passing the phony government conciliation boards as instruments designed by the bosses to stall union struggles (Burt is head of the UAW) and last but not least a resolution calling upon the ~~com~~ new united congress to open its doors to the Syndicates, the Mine Mill, the UE and the independent railroad brotherhoods. This later was the only one not passed by Jerry's local. We got other fellows to present two of the other resolutions. Of course the last one is a real slap at the witch hunt and high handed actions of the CCL big brass. The UE and Mine Mill are headed up by the Stalinists. We put this resolution forward not for any love of the Stalinists of course but to try and rally opposition to such high handed actions of the brass as expelling whole unions ~~whithout~~ on the basis that the big brass doesn't like their leadership. We want to do battle with the Stalinists on a programmatic basis. The brass expell the Stalinists in order to set a precedent whereby they can expell and opposition with the charge that they are "communists". I had some doubts that Jerry should try to get all these passed, show even raise some of them for there is always a danger that going too far we will isolate ourselves. But nothing like this happened--as a matter of act the executive recommended that he be one of the local's delegates to the coming CCL convention as it was passed by the membership meeting. Jerry is certainly doing a terrific job down at his shop. He has dozens of books and pamphlets circualt circulating among the boys. Of course they are not all Trotskyist writings--most are not but writings that sort of lead up to ours. And all these guys he is working on are coming back for more. "e is going to sell a bunch of the FI I loaned you with Cannon's article on the IWW

There are many other things but I am afraid I will have to close off for now.

I would like you to write me one letter a month which I promise to reply to. You know we have many books here in the library of all kinds. Ask me for some material on anything, even some good novels and we will send them on to you. Jerry brought back a bunch of good novels from his holiday in New York. The only way that you can get out of this one letter a month is if you manage to get in here to visit us. We will have more room now than ever. Paddy is taking over Kit and Jim's old apartment with his brother ~~Shaim~~ Charlie so he will be moving out in a day or so. So far my plans are to keep his room vacant--this will give me more privacy but should you come in lots of space to put up.

with socialist greetings

Ross

By the way the car insurance fellow came in today asking for you. I told him that I knew nothing about the policy and your intentions. I told him you had moved and inadvertently told him Montreal, however I gave him no address. However in thinking it over your car liscence with the aid of the Montreal police should tell them where you live. I can see why they would be bothered tracing you. I would think that they would write your policy off if you do not take it up very shortly. However that is the story.

Minutes September 19, 1955

Present-Kent, Jennings, Timber, Woods

Minutes of meeting September 12th read and adopted

Southern Plenum -Short report by Woods.Plenum voted on three resolutions-China, the USSR, The Rise of the Colonial Bourgeoisie. The only real controversy was on the definition of the class nature of the Chinese state. Overwhelming majority voted that it was a workers' state,a small handful of leading comrades abstained. Although a vote was cast on these resolutions the discussion is to continue. Woods reported that he voted with the majority and Kent abstained. The political resolution referred back by the last convention was adopted. A decision was made to enter the 1956 presidential campaign. An interesting report on the ingenious solutions allowing the continuation of the Trotsky school. A candidates list was adopted. Woods reported that we were again ~~xxxxxx~~ extended an invitation to send a student but that he and Kent had informed the south that we could not yet see our way clear to take advantage of this generous offer, at least for this term, but we would make every effort to make the next. A decision was taken to publish a considerable number of books and pamphlets. A financial campaign was also launched. Plenum discussion was of a high level and both Woods and Timber reported valuable informal discussions were held with leading comrades.

Motion that we commence a discussion in the party as soon as the documents are available for distribution in bulletin form--passed unanimously. Motion that we commence a discussion in the tops on China at our next meeting--passed unan.

Problems confronting the East

Prior to Woods and Kent going south, as reported in the last minutes,an informal discussion was held on the problems confronting us in our Eastern work. It was the opinion of all the comrades that what with the expulsions and the fall work opening up we were going to have to adopt organizational forms adequate to the task before us of organizing the cadre for the revolutionary party. We were now definitely out of the mass movement and for some period to come except for a very small handful of comrades who are quite inexperienced and confronted with great difficulties CCF work. The illegal organizational forms adopted for work in the mass movement ~~can only~~ result in the demoralization of our Eastern forces. The discussion developed around three proposals--1 that we should consider re-organization of the independent party, 2 that we should organize some kind of legal front, 3 that we should constitute ourselves as an ~~independent~~ league. It was the unanimous opinion that we should cross out consideration of ~~re-organizing~~ the independent party; such an act would be contrary to our fundamental orientations to the mass movement as being the probable course that the Canadian workers would take in the next upsurge. It was also agreed that there was no basis for the organization of somekind of legal form of front. There were no immediate issues around which such a front could develop on any scale wider than ~~than~~ the immediate contact possibilities we now have and there would be endless complications and duplications of work for our small forces. The unanimous opinion was that we should consider the organization of an independent league. Such a league would not be formally affiliated to the F.I.it would be oriented to the mass movement, it would carry on intensive fraction work in the mass movement, continuing to build up its forces in the mass movement, its known membership would be limited, it would provide us with a proper instrument to ~~xxxxxx~~ carry on modest public activities, to widen our contact, to recruit and build up our forces in the mass movement. Kent suggested ~~xxxxxx~~ that it should carry a name expressing our fundamental orientation such as The League for a Socialist CCF. Williams suggested The League for a Socialist Canada. Timber felt that the need to take this turn was all the more necessary what with the failure to go ahead with the publication of the BC mass movement left press... which would have given the East, now completely on the outside, a point around which to organize and attempt to re-establish its contact with the mass movement. Jennings commented on the continued decline of the movement in the East--to his knowledge there had been no club meeting in the Toronto area since May and in view of the electoral defeat it is probable that some clubs will ~~xxxxxx~~ not reorganize this Fall. He pointed out that we were being forced increasingly out into semi-independent activity and developing a very complicated and confusing relationship with contacts because it is obvious that there is some kind of organization but which we continue to attempt quite unsuccessfully to conceal. At our last convention two decisions were taken to rectify the lack of a socialist press in Canada. one the publication of a broad left press in BC, two the publication of a series of pamphlets advancing our Trotskyist views on various matters. We have proven unable to realize number one despite terrific efforts due to the defection of prominent left wingers who we were counting on to front it.. There has been some delay in the writing of the pamph-

hlets—one is almost ready to go to press. There was a discussion around a proposal that we should commence publication of a paper. It was felt that the southern press, even with the widest co-operation of the southern comrades in publishing our material, was not adequate to our purposes. It was also felt that a series of pamphlets along the line of the English Labor Review would be inadequate. The paper that we felt should be considered should be a small tabloid, of four pages, published on a monthly basis. If at a later date we felt able to carry a bigger effort and insert could be printed. It was felt that a modest paper of this sort was adequate to our purpose and would not prove too much of a drain on our forces...the Ontario comrades would be able to assure a reasonable circulation in the knowledge that the West would be pretty much limited to getting subs for it from immediate contacts and providing us with mailing lists.

In the light on the above discussion comrades Kent and Woods were instructed to arrange to hold a meeting with leading southern comrades to find out there opinions.

Kent reported that the secretariat of the southern group, five of the leading comrades, spent a whole evening in discussion on these matters. An attempt was made to present the whole picture, all the proposals and possibilities, for their consideration.

The south expressed its complete agreement with the proposition that we organize an independent league in the East. They expressed the opinion that neither name suggested was adequate to our purpose. JPC suggested Socialist Educational League. Short commented that we needed a name that would tell radical workers that ~~their~~ place is in the league, ~~mainstream~~ in the league first so that we can develop them, organize them, and then in the CCP—not vice-versa. JPC and JH stressed the idea that we should work clearly on the basis that our primary task was to build the cadre, the Trotskyist cadre—without this cadre it was not possible to play any role in the mass movement—that all our efforts ~~must~~ directed to the building of the party. They were ~~immediately~~ of the opinion that we should publish a paper along the line of the discussion at the Sept 12 meeting.

Further discussion by the tops in the light of Kent's report of the meeting with the southern secretariat which was supplemented by Woods.

Motion that the tops recommend for immediate discussion on the NC and for decision as soon as possible that the comrades in the East be given the go-ahead ~~to organize an independent league~~ to organize an independent league—passed unanimously.

In order to expedite the discussion and to further clarify it two names for the league were suggested—THE SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, THE LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION. The first name was favored. Timber was of the opinion that only a few names of the officers would be made public and they would be persons who have no possibility of getting into the mass movement in the next period. Jennings suggested that at a later date, during an upsurge we might apply for affiliation to the mass movement—at anyrate that should be our line.

Motion that the tops recommend for immediate discussion that we commence publication of a paper in the East—passed unanimously. Three names were suggested—The Socialist, The Voice of Socialism, Socialist Action—the latter had the preference. Kent pointed out that a ~~paper~~ paper as suggested in the preliminary discussion could be published with a minimum outlay—about \$60 an issue. He felt sure that there would be little difficulty in financing such a project. Timber suggested that it would be very good if we decided to go ahead with this project that we come out with the first issue during the proposed municipal election campaign—it would be an auspicious beginning, the first issue could take the place of the election leaflet and save us funds.

Comrade Jennings reported to the tops that very shortly he will have so ordered his personal ~~affairs~~ affairs that he would, if required, be able to work full time for the movement for a very nominal amount of money.

Comrade Kent was struck off to prepare a document for circulation and discussion on the new problems confronting the East ~~and the~~ proposals now before the NC just as soon as possible.

Kent reported that while in the south he had heard that comrade Hardy of Vancouver was seriously hurt ~~on~~ a southern trip. He informed the tops that he had sent expressions of sympathy.

Untitled report of the PC (Political Committee) and the NC (National Committee) of the SEL (Socialist Educational League) dated Oct.6/55 by Ross Dowson

The main document adopted by our 1954 convention in reply to the liquidationism of our Canadian Pablists (*followers of the Fourth International faction around Michel Pablo –ed.*), rejecting the concept that the CCF would be transformed by mass pressure into the party of the Canadian proletarian revolution, stated that “the mass revolutionary party in Canada will be forged in the process of a whole series of splits, unifications, expulsions.” Elsewhere in the same document it was stated, “In the course of the exhaustion of the progressive possibilities of the CCF there will be splits, expulsions, reunifications, splits.”

The predictions of expulsions have come to pass sooner than we expected and in a way that was unexpected by us. This last Spring a series of expulsions took place in the East — our expulsions. The basic forces of our movement in the East were cut out of the CCF by the right wing. While through an effective principled struggle we were able to neutralize about third of the delegates to the Ontario convention and in one case win the support of about a quarter of the delegates we were unable to prevent the expulsion. We were unable to consolidate any viable support in the movement.

In the West while harassed and molested by the right, thanks to the protection of a broad left tendency in the movement, our forces remain intact in the CCF. There the broad left has been suffering setbacks. As a whole there has been a further dissipation of the left's forces. But our basic cadres remain inside the CCF and the CCF continues to provide us with a milieu for work. In the East while some progress has been registered in the rebuilding of our forces in the CCF, our basic cadre is out of the movement. Despite efforts to continue to work in the constituency clubs where we met a certain favorable response after the expulsions, the leadership has been successful in developing a hostile atmosphere and we are increasingly being prevented from working in and around the movement. Two comrades not even directly involved in the expulsions have been informed by a club which was not hostile even at the peak of the struggle that should they attempt to attend meetings in the future they will be barred at the door.

In support of proposals to adjust our work in the direction of certain semi-independent activities, our last convention recorded that the CCF in the East had undergone a considerable decline, that within the constituency organizations there was no material for the building of the revolutionary vanguard party, that our forces were being required to utilize the movement to move out and make contact with new layers of workers. With the expulsions even this line of action has been cut off. Our forces left in the CCF are unable to initiate activities. The movement has continued to decline.

Our forces in the East have been barred from the CCF and it is apparent that they will be barred for a considerable time to come. The limited forces that we still have in the CCF are isolated by the continued rightward course of the movement, the demoralization of the membership, and the failure of the movement to recruit any new blood. In effect what constituted an entry into the CCF has resulted in the East in extremely limited fraction work and under very unfavorable conditions. This situation is going to prevail for some time — until a new upsurge of the workers thrusts them into attempting to utilize for their purposes the instruments that are at hand.

It is apparent that Canadian Trotskyism has now either to re-evaluate its whole orientation to the CCF (its estimation of the line of march of the Canadian workers) or; to adopt new forms of work that

will meet the changed circumstances that confront it and will permit it to carry forward its orientation to the CCF. We think that the latter course is the one to be followed.

We decided to make an entry into the CCF not just because our forces were small in the absolute sense; while a party in that we possess a program distinct from all others we did not have the forces to play the role that the Canadian workers expect of a party. We decided to enter because we were isolated, small, in the relative sense also, in relation to the class conscious development of the Canadian workers and western farmers and the direction of this development to the CCF. Our expulsion in the East has not changed this in any way.

The CCF (*Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, forerunner to the NDP*) has continued to swing further to the right and decline, in electoral support, in club membership, and in level of activity. As much as the Coldwell leadership has promoted this process, fundamentally this is a reflection of the whole rightward moving course, the general decline and apathy of the labor movement. We have no cause to question our past opinion that the CCF reflects the first strivings of the class into independent class politics and that the working class in this country will in all probability as a class go through a CCF experience, if only a short one. The progressive possibilities of the CCF have not been exhausted by our expulsions.

Prior to the expulsions, and at an increased tempo since, our Eastern forces have been moving out more openly into semi-independent activities. Last Spring we held a series of forums; through one of them we provided a couple of the expelled an opportunity to publicly defend themselves against the CCF bureaucracy's slanders. Following the provincial election defeat we drew up a leaflet over the name of one of the expelled and circulated it on a fairly broad scale. But so far these moves have been of a somewhat empirical nature and have pointed up all kinds of contradictions. The public forums were held under the auspices of two individuals, one a well known Trotskyist, the other the most known of the expelled. This sufficed for a couple of forums but soon one must have other speakers. It is difficult to capitalize on forums when no organization sponsors them. Despite their relative anonymity and the limited discussion circle perspective that the forums tended to project, a few persons came our way. They soon came in contact with the peculiar situation of the bookstore and the forums and classes held in the hall — these elaborate facilities supposedly owned and open for the use of certain persons thanks to the generosity of a certain individual. Anyone with any political experience not to speak of normal sensitivity, soon felt that there was something more behind all this than appeared on the surface. This contradiction between our semi-independent activities and the organizational forms dictated by other needs has compromised our relations with persons who despite it all did manage to move towards us — setting up an atmosphere of suspicion, lack of mutual confidence, etc. But of course the primary contradiction is that, cut off from building our movement through the CCF organizations at this time, we have remained fixed on organization forms that restrict our coming into contact with the very layers of workers upon whom we count to build our movement.

Now we must seriously come to grips with the changed situation that confronts us and bring our activities and organizational forms into harmony with these changed situations.

In order to carry out our orientation to the CCF, in order to rebuild our forces within the CCF, we are required to move out into organized independent activity. At this stage of the class struggle the cadre of the revolutionary party cannot be built from within the CCF both because of the decline of the movement and our expulsion from it. The CCF is not now a source of recruitment to the cadre, nonetheless our forces in the CCF must be built up. We must have an effective force in the CCF that will know how to effectively meet the influx of worker-militants that will come with the next upsurge

— that can prepare the ground for the possible re-admission of our presently expelled forces. This force can only be built on the basis of independent activity.

The human material with which the vanguard party is to be built is not now going to the CCF and what element that does, does not stay within in the organized movement for there is no left wing at present that can give it any perspective. Increasingly wider layers of workers, not yet a viable force, are getting to understand the treacherous class collaborationist role of the Coldwell leadership of the CCF. The CCF leadership has over the past years betrayed the cause of socialism, its theoretical precepts, the long range interests of the class, countless numbers of times. They are now even betraying the workers at their present level of consciousness and understanding. They did so when Coldwell and three other CCF M.P.s (*elected Members of Parliament*) defied a national convention and national council position to vote for German re-armament which a Gallop Poll revealed was opposed by % of the population. A critical and distrustful attitude to the CCF is being built up in the minds of worker-militants. But there are no signs that labor political action will take another course — that it will move in another direction without a full scale test of the CCF.

In order to carry out our entry in 1952 we were compelled by the anti-democratic character of the CCF to abandon publication of our press, to create the appearance of having completely dissolved the party and to adopt illegal organizational forms. The new situation confronting us compels us to reconsider all these actions.

The illegal organizational forms that we were compelled to adopt in order to achieve our purposes now stand frontally in the way of the gathering of the cadres, for the mass Trotskyist party of the Canadian revolution. They stand frontally in the way of carrying out the CCF orientation which under different conditions they were first adopted to implement. They have turned into their opposite. To carry out our orientation today we must move out more into the arena of independent activity.

The organization of our forces as an independent party with CCF work having the status of faction work (*as opposed to long-term non-split fraction work—ed.*), designed to feed us with information and pick off the odd advanced worker that we might contact, would be contrary to our whole evaluation of the probable course of development of the Canadian working class. Organizational forms must serve political ends. We do not want to appear as an opponent political party to the CCF, challenging the CCF for hegemony over the working class movement. We want to appear as the socialists, as the leaders of the opposition to Coldwell's treacherous misleadership of the working class. We do not look upon the CCF as a place for smash and grab faction work but the area where the struggle for the hegemony of the class will unfold. We do not desire to strip the CCF of revolutionaries other than a few left for reconnaissance purposes, to empty it of what revolutionary content it may have. We desire to build and strengthen the revolutionary forces in the CCF, to lead the masses in struggle for the leadership, for the control of the mass movement, knowing quite well that the revolutionary leadership cannot remain in these petty bourgeois, non-Bolshevik forms and that the bureaucracy will not permit them to do so. To reorganize our forces as an independent party would only play into the hands of the CCF leadership. It would make it all the more easy for them to isolate as from the working class movement at its present level of development. It would in a sense amount to our voluntarily isolating ourselves.

Should we meet the need to move more outward by attempting to erect in front of the illegal organizational forms we are now maintaining, another organization — a sort of front? Our responsibility as revolutionaries is to build the revolutionary vanguard party. The presently illegal organization is the vanguard in its present state of development. To answer the question as to whether

we should erect some kind of legal front one must answer the question “what would we gain from the point of view of building the vanguard?” What would be the program, the general aim of such an organization? Whom could we expect to attract to it other than the immediate contacts that we now have? There is no discernable motion of unattached layers of workers who could be corralled by some limited program of a revolutionary character or action. The whole climate today is against it. The first evidence against this is the lack of a functioning left wing of any kind at any political level in the Eastern CCF and the complete isolation of the Trotskyists within the CCF. The same situation prevails in the trade unions, showing that the situation in the CCF is not an anomaly. To attempt to carry out semi-independent work through the setting up of another organization and maintaining the cadre organization as it is now would place a profitless strain, through duplication of meetings etc., etc. on our limited forces.

The organizational form that is most suitable to our needs at this time, that will be the most favorable instrument for the building of the vanguard party, would be the illegal organization operating openly as an educational league. Organized as a league we would have all the freedom of movement of the independent party but at the same time our true relationship to the CCF would be expressed.

The primary role of the league will be propagandistic (educational), through forums, a press, magazine and pamphlet sales, election participation where thought practicable, etc. It will be oriented to the CCF. Through whatever avenues at its disposal the league will give leadership to the left currents in the CCF, it will attempt to be the spokesman of the left, sharpening up the criticism of the Coldwell leadership, advancing our transitional program. Presenting itself as the CCF Left Opposition, the League will have great political flexibility around the principled program of Trotskyism.

On the basis of its independent activities, which will be carried primarily by those who have been barred from working in the CCF, the league will appeal to those workers who are coming to understand the treacherous role of the CCF reformist leadership and program. It will appeal to dissident elements in and around the Stalinist LPP and workers who want an alternative to both the CCF and the LPP (*Labor Progressive Party -- Stalinist*).

Since its main field of operations will be in and around the CCF and amongst militants who tend to gravitate towards the union political action committees, the CCF leadership will soon label the league as an opponent political party. In the interest of the security of our forces known membership in the league will be of necessity limited to those barred from the CCF. Since the league will not want to play into the right wing's hands it will have no formal international affiliation. Fraction work in the CCF will be one of the main activities of the league. It will meet the expansion and contraction of the opportunities for fruitful work in the CCF with the appropriate deployment of its forces. All who can possibly do so, including those attracted to the league on the basis of its independent work, will hold membership in the CCF. Through the work of its fraction the league will gain new recruits. Though the league the strategy of the socialist opposition to the Coldwell reformist policies will be hammered out and applied.

Our convention last year, pointing up the historically unprecedented absence of a revolutionary socialist press in this country, decided we should publish a series of pamphlets. To be published over the name of one of the known leading comrades they were to serve as a substitute for a paper in view of the fact that “such a project (as a paper) would require some sort of apparatus of a formal character which it would not be advisable to set up at this time when it would be so vulnerable to the disciplinary action of the mass movement's leadership.” These pamphlets were to put forward the

full Trotskyist viewpoint. At the same time we decided to attempt to publish from the West Coast what would ultimately be a cross-Canada left CCF press. We thought that the native left wing in BC would provide us with a base and prominent BC left wingers would provide us with a cover. Various difficulties in the East have frustrated our attempts to publish the planned pamphlets. The treachery of the leading left wingers on the West Coast has frustrated the publication of a left CCF press.

Both efforts would have had an unfortunate anonymity about them. The league will not only provide us with the necessary organizational structure to publish and circulate a paper. The league will provide us with an organization which can profit by, which can be the center around which will gravitate those who find themselves in ideological agreement with the views of the paper.

The comrades in the East are in a position to provide the apparatus for the publication of a monthly tabloid. They are also in a position to provide the paper with a sufficient circulation base to make it well worth the effort of ceasing to rely entirely upon the southern press (*the SWP Militant –ed.*) and, of publishing a paper of our own. Nationally our movement should be able to finance the paper without having to function on a crisis basis.

Due to the fact that the West in toto is still able to function within the CCF their participation in the circulation of the press will be somewhat curtailed. For instance it would probably unwise at this time that they distribute it at public functions, that is, publicly identify themselves with it other than as persons who think that it advocates many good ideas. They would of course take subscriptions for it from interested persons. They would circulate it with care amongst persons who seem to be interested. They would provide us with contact lists for sample mailing. It will be of great aid to them in developing contacts for it will be able to say all that they are circumscribed from saying.

What will the line of the press be? It will be the Canadian press of world Trotskyism. It will be directed towards the building of the league which is gathering the cadre of the mass revolutionary party of the future. It will support and identify itself with all progressive tendencies within the CCF. It will present itself as the voice of the left wing. It will, while giving support to the CCF, ruthlessly lay bare and criticize from its socialist viewpoint every treachery committed by the CCF and its leadership. In general it will be similar to Labor Challenge after 1948 when we concluded that the CCF had become the Canadian form of the labor party. There will be adjustments in so far as it will only be a monthly with a smaller format, in so far as we are not formally a section of the Fourth International, etc., etc.

The CCF continues to move to the right and decline. There is no cause for as to conclude from this that the line of march of the Canadian workers will not go through the CCF. But it must be recognized that new possibilities for the independent growth of the Trotskyist movement are developing. While the class collaborationist policies of the leadership have demoralized many CCF card holders and caused them to drop out of the movement, they have rendered, a much more limited strata it is true, susceptible to the influence of our class struggle program. Many workers who have never joined the organization but who consider themselves to be CCFers have developed the most critical attitudes to the movement — attitudes that make them susceptible to the influence of a league oriented to the CCF.

In this period, before the workers move forward in an attempt to give their content to the CCF, we have an opportunity to strengthen our forces, to add to our numbers, to heighten our own political understanding, to more broadly disseminate our views. This can best be done organized as an independent league. The greater success in this the more quickly will be the evolution of the Canadian

workers to the program of the socialist revolution and the instrument of that program, the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

The PC and NC have already had a preliminary discussion on some of the immediate aspects of the above proposals. In the discussion of the name of the league there were two suggested — The Socialist Educational League and The League for Socialist Action. The first was the most favored. Three names were suggested as suitable for the paper — The Socialist, The Voice of Socialism and Socialist Action. The latter was the most favored.

-30-

(The first issue of Workers Vanguard was published in December 1955 – ed)

(Retired Supt. Under)
James P. Cannon, San Francisco

October 8, 1955

Dear Jim;

Enclosed you will find the document that I mentioned I would like you to look over and give us your candid opinion on. I am sending our latest effort along with it for your perusal.

I think that it would be best that you read the one with the darker yellow cover first. Since the Fablists were attempting to re-interpret, in conformity with the liquidationism, all our past policies we took time out in that document to patiently unbury some old material in order to set the record straight. You will perhaps find parts of it belabored. At the time of writing our Fablists were protesting that they were not revisionists---for instance Murray B quite vigorously attacked Clarke's article in the MI that held out the idea of the self-reform of the Russian bureaucracy. We were trying to smoke them out. We had nothing to really work on---they never ever did put their own views on paper.

The shorter five page document with the lighter cover is just hot off the press and since with this we are trying to make current history we would be even more interested in knowing your opinion of it. The discussion around this document is going to reveal some differences but nothing of great seriousness. We would be more than pleased if you ~~thought~~ were to enter into our discussion with a contribution.

When you are finished with these documents would you send them on to New York for their file. We do not have many copies---for security reasons we keep a tight hold on them.

We have received our first response from our West Coast comrades---they are in general agreement. However from the limited information we have it would almost appear that they too would like to move out of the CCF in the same direction. A more comfortable existence for revolutionists no doubt but all the evidence points to the BC CCF being a profitable field for work. But as I say this information is very sketchy and may even be mistaken.

with socialist greetings

Ross Dawson
569 Yonge Street
Toronto



to)

. He feels that carry the word socialist on the masthead in this country only puts an unnecessary barrier between us and a potential ~~XXXX~~ reader. We should identify the paper with labor--call it Labor something or other. --of course in the body of the paper and from time to time in heads the paper will be socialist. He suggested that we should consider rather than Socialist Action names like Labor Action, Worker's Voice. General discussion motion that we recommend in the discussion on the name of the paper that the word socialist not appear--passed unanimously. Several of the comrades liked the name Labor Action, once a US West Coast paper of ours and today being used by the US Shachtmanites. It was decided to check into this as to whether there was any objection to our using it here now--the shachtmanite press is unknown here, what about copyright, would the south prefer we did not? Woods moved a

Publication date of paper-- ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Motion that we publish the paper so that it appears during the Toronto election campaign..passed unanimously The publication of the paper announcing the formation of the League and playing up the League's first public activity, the running of Stanton and Dawson for public office, it was felt would be a powerful demonstration for our ideas. Comrades Kent and Jennings struck off to investigate the costs immediately. It was agreed if there is not too much difference in costs, that instead of publishing the leaflet for mass distribution separate from the first issue of the paper, that we make the first issue of the paper with a press run of 30,000 serve as the leaflet. these comrades are instructed to get the price of 30,000 copies of the paper so that it can be compared to the cost of 30,000 leaflets and 4,000 copies of the paper. If the prices are quite close it was decided that the paper-leaflet would be off the presses as close to nomination day (November 18) as possible.

Assignments ---Jennings suggested that it would be good for the movement if we were able to present some new names and faces in the activities of the movement. Motion that comrade Stanton be named Chairman of the League passed unanimously. that comrade Dowson be named secretary, passed unanimously, and that comrade Mitchell be named editor of the paper, passed unanimously--it was agreed that comrade Dowson would be the acting editor.

Editorial Board--- Motion that the editorial board be composed of Jennings, Kent and Woods and that it be made known to the comrades in the center that anyone who would like to contribute is welcome to participate in its discussions.

Finances--- Motion that we immediately prepare to launch an all-out financial drive to finance the Toronto municipal election campaign, to publish the paper and to set up the independent league ---passed unanimously. Kent reported the outside contributions have fallen badly in the past period. It was agreed that we set no quota for Vancouver but ask that they think they can handle. It was agreed that the Toronto executive should prepare this matter as many in the branch being new have little idea of what we expect of them--roughly \$500. Comrade Kent given the job of preparing the circular and suggesting quotas to outside points.

November 8, 1955

The formation of the Socialist Educational League was announced today. ~~It is an underground organization~~
It has been organized by some of the 15 persons expelled last Spring from the Ontario CCF, by persons who are active members of the CCF, and some of the former members of the Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers Party.

The first action of the newly formed League will be to sponsor the candidatures of Ross Dowson for Mayor and George Stanton for Board of Control in the coming Toronto municipal elections. Stanton is chairman of the League and Dowson is secretary-treasurer. Stanton, a member of the CCF since 1934 was expelled this Spring. Dowson, who applied for membership in the CCF in 1953 and was refused by the Ontario leadership, was the Revolutionary Workers Party national secretary and its mayoralty candidate in 1950 when he polled 23,645 votes.

Stanton announced that the League will be publishing a monthly tabloid newspaper under the editorship of James Mitchell.

The League will carry on educational work for a socialist Canada. Regardless of his recent expulsion Stanton stated that "I and my ~~unlike-minded~~ co-thinkers in the Socialist Educational League intend to provide workers who support the CCF with a pressure point outside the CCF and with a rallying point for the rebuilding of a left wing within the CCF that can effectively struggle against the present leadership's liberal-reformist policies and for a socialist policy."

"The League is not a new party or an opponent ^{movement} ~~party~~ to the CCF," Stanton declared. "It is for a CCF government in Ottawa and CCF provincial and municipal governments. Members and supporters of the League will carry the struggle for a socialist ~~maximal~~ CCF policy in union political action committees, within CCF clubs and conventions, in ^{their} ~~the~~ press and by such activities as this Toronto election campaign.

R Dowson
Wa3-5174

November 8, 1965

Dear Comrades:

I have received Bill's letter and ^{am} sitting down to write you this note immediately.

This note comes somewhat as a surprise.

There has been no doubt a widely varied tempo between the development of the discussion here and the discussion there. You are still in the CCF and we are all agreed that there is much for ^{you} to do there--we have been out now almost a year and have ever since then been moving into semi-independent activities. We have been living differently and have been thinking differently. The real truth is brought home to me in Bill's letter.

I can assure you that there have been no conscious attempt to rush things from this end. We have all felt that every move we have been making has quite logically flowed from the previous one. ~~SEX~~ You mention that the tapes of our discussion have not arrived out there yet. We had intended to tape last Wednesday nights discussion on the document and possibly continue the tape onto a meeting that we had tentatively arranged for last Sunday afternoon. We did not send you a tape for when we came to open up the discussion ---this would have been the fourth or fifth discussion on the matter---there was nothing to be said. Not only are we unanimously ^{in agreement} ~~agreed~~ with the document but with all the various decisions that we have made flowing out of it. At the Wednesday meeting the chairman held the floor open and everyone agreed there was nothing more to say and we tallied a unanimous vote behind the decision to set up the League. We thereupon discussed the name of the League and the paper. Three problems too had had quite a thorough discussion, partly on the floor, mostly in private discussions. We settled those matters to everyone's satisfaction that same Wednesday evening. And we thereupon decided not to hold the Sunday meeting. *"Labor Action" no record anywhere*

Be met on 2nd. Endorsed "Labor Action" no record anywhere who authorized change.

The matters of setting up the League and launching a paper were of course made in agreement with you leading comrades out there for ~~was~~ it two or even three weeks ago you sent us minutes of a meeting that you held where you unanimously recorded your agreement with both actions, even going so far as to state a preference for the name of the League. I know of course that there were other matters related to this decision taken by you that raised doubts ... but I had the impression that they were distinctly secondary matters and they would be clarified by our next minutes and by receipt of the document for I ~~do~~ believe that you voted concurrence prior to have the document at your disposal

What have we done more than that---well we have done quite a bit..but in my opinion everything done just logically flowed from the commonly arrived at decision to set up the Socialist Educational League and publish a paper. You will recall that some month or so previously, upon the request of the Toronto branch that we consider running candidates in the municipal election, you agreed to this. Nomination day is a week tomorrow--Nov 16th. To everyone here it just seems a matter of simple logic that we should announce the formation of the League and put it on the map as the sponsor of the two candidates that we decided to run. Everyone felt that there could not possibly be a better time. After all candidates just dont run--candidates that have the same electoral program. We had all just assumed that we would be putting out one leaflet, in fact that was what was behind the idea of running two candidates--mayoralty and 3 of Control candidates could run on the same leaflet as both are voted on a city-wide franchise. I suppose the thoughts must have gone somewhat like this---who is sponsoring two candidates with the same program on the same leaflet. The leaflet will get a mass circulation, with some breaks we will get even nationwide publicity..now is the time.

Now I can see, since you raise the whole matter, that there could well be the appearance

the assignments. Tonight I intend to really get down to writing the election manifesto. We have already planned it on the basis that it is going to be backed up by a paper of 3 pages behind it. Should we call it off? We can do so. We can just go ahead with a leaflet with a 30 M press run--not take advantage of this situation to attempt to establish the paper on the Toronto area.

I myself think that we should go ahead. Get every possible thing that we can get out of this election campaign...establish the League, establish the paper. A thirty thousand press run of this paper-leaflet is equal to ten months of the paper at an ordinary press run of 3 thousand.

I think when you have these facts before you that you will agree. If you do not, why write me immediately--wire me. And we will merely go ahead with the leaflet. There will be considerable disappointment here among the comrades because our group has made these decisions on the basis that they have thought that they quite logically followed from the two basic decisions we made together...they are quite hepped up to the whole election campaign and all its possibilities. However there is nothing that any of us want to do that would not get your common agreement.

Off hand I have no idea just what your objections could be to any of these secondary, practical type of moves we have now made. You can be sure that we are fully appreciative of your ability to contribute to making the practical decisions all the more intelligent, all the more in keeping with our fundamental orientation. In fact in my opinion you have an extremely important role to play in seeing to it that our press stays in line, what with your being in the CCF and our inevitably tending, due to our being on the outside, towards independent activities along the line of an independent party. The only reason why I have not written to you to contribute something to the paper as we have been planning to go ahead with it was the closeness of the deadline. We want the leaflet of paper to be in our hands by the 19th of the month for sure--the deadline being this coming Sunday. ~~For the maximum information on the matter~~

We are really looking forward to receiving your views on all the matters pertaining to all the moves that have been made and are in the process of being made. You can be sure even if you do not make any specific recommendations to us that we will take everything you say under serious advisement.

fraternally


Ross

November 8, 1955

Dear Wallyx and Carmellx and Joyce;

That was quite a letter that you tossed this way. Question after question.

Well I will answer them

Ruth has not had her baby—it is not due till the end of December or early January I think. She has quit working for a boss and has been checking into the office down here helping out almost every day.

Pat and Jimmy have not yet moved. They are just closing the deal on an apartment at Queen and Manning which they will be moving into around December 1st.

I did not ask Harry about your shirt and razor. If I was to do so I must confess that I forgot. I will ~~xxxx~~ take this matter up with him next time I see him—tomorrow night. Yes, he is working and of all things in your old racket. He is working for Pepsi-Cola, driving his own truck. Remind me next time you come up that I have your yellow knitted tie

I have just yelled up to Jim in the store about the letter from him that you are waiting for. He tells me that you owe him one—dead lock eh! It appears that his last letter took so much out of him that he needs another from you to start the process again.

As for the other matter. Really suprised to hear that it did not work. Did you follow directions to the letter or did it perhaps somewhat startle you causing you to pull back? This was the reaction of one person we know—better to have the disease than the so-called cure. But that is up to the persons involved. For me, talking in the abstract, the cure is better than the disease. Later on yxx when we meet again you must tell me all for perhaps the cure is not as fool proof as all past evidence lead us to believe. If that were true I would have made other arrangements—gone to a licensed MD I have recently heard about one. Now that everything appears to be underway and you are adjusted arrangements could be made to pass it on should you desire to do so.

And how are we making out up here politically. Why we are going great guns. As a matter of fact it is possible that since you wrote you have even heard a little about us. We are running Paddy and I for public office you know. Well we sent out a release first on Paddy and it was picked up by one of the papers and went over the CBC news. We then let a few days go by and announced my candidature. This was picked up by the Star. This morning we announced the formation of a Socialist Educational League, tied it up with the nominations and stated its purpose in a few terse lines. A fellow that I know in the township phoned us at noon to tell us that he heard all about it over CFRB. So I gather that one or other of the papers will carry that. Last night we had an editorial board meeting of the paper. We have lined up the first issue. We have decided to publish it as the election leaflet. This will really be a tour de force, formidable etc etc. When we came to price the cost of a leaflet ~~thirty~~thousand copies, 195.00 dollars we found that we could combine the leaflet with other material to make the first issue of the paper for about \$336.00. A lot of money but worth a job it will do. It will put the views of the League in a real way on the map to the tune of 30,000 copies (almost a normal press run of a year) it will make a tremendously impressive election advertisement., it will put the paper on the map. We are getting up to our necks in work. As a matter of fact I am sending you this letter now because in the next week and from then there on in until December fifth we will not be able to turn around.

Boy do we wish you were both here. Do we need your abilities and talents. ~~xxxxxx~~ we are all going to have a great experience. Anyone who is close to us is going to be brought right over and there is no doubt that we are going to make more contacts. Our ideas are going to get a good airing—as much of one as we are able to realize. Of course both of you wish you were here. And now that we are both sorry in a way one doesn't seem so sad. eh waht. We are hoping to have the literature off the presses by November 19 Friday so that we can get to work with the door to door right in the letter box distribution on Saturday. Nomination day is the 16th but we want to be sure that all is OK before telling the pressment to start things rolling.

As soon as we get copies of our leaflet newspaper I will send you some. Possibly you will have met some people who will be interested. Of course we are going to use it amongst the workers that we know to get subscriptions. We will be holding our November forum at the Mineworkers Hall on the elections. Right after nomination day Paddy and I will be scurrying around all over the city to election meetings. Let us know what publicity we get in Montreal, what the reactions are. I do not know what paper is most likely to touch on such local Toronto news but since the Trotskyists are at it again it shall get national attention—even if only of a limited character.

(564) Of course everyone agreed with the new document. We announced the formation of the league at our Sunday class on the history of Canadian socialism. We hold a weekly forum no but every third Sunday of the month we hold it up at the Mineworkers Hall and put an add in the paper. It will be interesting to see what result we get on the election meeting. Previous years we only got a few outsiders to attend but I think it reasonable to believe that there will be more interest this year. Brand is running for B of C along with Paddy and a Stalinist Hunter. We intend to place little 2 column pictures of them alongside of two column pictures of Paddy and I and call for the election of the labor slate to city hall—labor to power. What do you think the Stalinist and the Ford Brand reaction will be, old man. This leaflet-paper will really be a bang up job.

George B as you probably know is now in. A real addition. ..in all ways..money, has his bit to say in the discussions, energy. This past week he with a helping hand from me ~~xxxxxx~~ changed our upstairs to meet the firemarshalls specifications. We have to put plaster board on the walls, ten test doesn't get their approval. We also had to amalgamated the two rooms, mine and Paddy's as there must be a window per room—the regulations don't say about rooms without ceilings. We cleared that pretty much away so that we would have a clear field during the campaign.

By the way how about getting a money order addressed to the Militant at 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y., U.S.A for the verysmall sum of \$1.75. This will get you a subscription for six months. You cannot afford not to do so. You should see what a terrific job of selling the Militant was done around the lynching of the Negro youth Emmett Tillet. They sold three thousand copies of one issue in New York alone. You know you always said you were going to get a sub—well they send me notification of all subs they receive.... I'm watching you.. ha ~~xxxxxx~~ And you are going to send me back my marked up copy of the F.I. after you have read it.

What is new at your shop. Have you managed despite that poor shift you are on to make contact with the CCF or the youth group there—probably best bet. When is the next holiday week-end. We will be looking forward to seeing you both. Well this will probably be my last letter until after the elections..

warmest regards

Ross

Minutes of meeting December 18, 1955

Present—Timber, Kent, Jennings, Woods.

Vancouver—tape of Vancouver Dec 3rd meeting played and discussed along with correspondence received from Vancouver recently. This Vancouver meeting recorded among others—

Objection to the center having gone ahead with the publication of the paper and not just a leaflet for Toronto election purposes.

Objection to the layout of the first issue, length of articles, length of sentences, some of content—generally the paper was looked upon as useless nationally since much of it was taken up with the Toronto election program

Objection to the political line of the statement of the League

Objection to the name of the paper, failure to include the term socialist in the name.

~~Discussion~~
Discussion on and decision to submit to the center of only a limited list of names from the Box 16 list for mailing sample copies of the paper to.

The PC had a lengthy and detailed discussion of the above matters and other points that were raised.

The PC accepts criticism of layout, length of sentences, articles, as having considerable validity but would point out that this criticism must be made in the light of an understanding of some of the difficulties. This work has been placed in the hands of the most competent comrades in this field that we have in the center, comrades who are acquainted with many of the aspects of layout and journalism raised in the discussion and who will in the best of their ability attempt to raise the paper in this field to the level that we all desire it to reach.

The PC agrees with much of the criticism of the name of the paper. It is possible that a better name could have been arrived at on the basis of a still broader consultation. This name was chosen by the Toronto branch on the basis of a discussion extending over two meetings and in close consultation with the PC—from a host of names, some of them suggested by West Coast comrades. While some PC members did not care for the name finally arrived at they did not feel that the PC should intervene as they could find nothing fundamentally wrong with the chosen name. The PC is aware that one of the NC members is of the opinion that the term socialist should be in the name—PC minutes record that a name including the term socialist was its first recommendation. On the basis of further discussion recorded in November 2 minutes the PC changed its mind and unanimously passed a motion that the name of the paper should not include the term socialist. This decision was not at all made on the basis that the CCF leadership have dropped the term from their vocabulary and press. It was considered purely upon a tactical basis, not wanting to place a head-on barrier between us and a first acquaintance with the paper, and upon the basis of our understanding of the level of consciousness of the Canadian workers.

Re publication of the paper. The decision to publish the paper under the exact circumstance that saw its publication was made entirely on the basis of the splendid occasion that presented itself to really put the paper on the map—Toronto-wise and Canada-wise—our running for the highest posts in Toronto civic government. There is no question that publication could have been delayed—a month or two or even later if thought necessary. But this would have meant missing this splendid opportunity.

We here knew of no reason why this opportunity should be missed. The idea of a Canadian paper is not new. Our 1954 convention decided to promote the BC left into the publication of a paper of a broad left character and authorized the publication of a series of Trotskyist pamphlets for mass circulation. When this project failed to jell the East presented a document early this Fall which proposed publication of a paper of our own oriented to the CCF. This document was circulated throughout the party. After several weeks of discussion the Toronto branch adopted it unanimously. All outside points appeared to be in complete agreement. The NC members in Vancouver informed us of their agreement with the document. Up until receipt of a letter from Thorne which arrived after the paper was off the press and now this tape with Comrade 'R's remarks of opposition to the document we were totally unaware of any disagreement in our ranks on the document or what it proposes—the publication of a paper.

The paper is now a reality. We consider the first issue a splendid achievement and the line that it develops in complete agreement with the programmatic documents of the movement. This however does not mean that discussion on the document is ended. On the contrary further discussion could prove invaluable in giving clarity to the movement for carrying on its work, in giving guidance to the editors of the paper. We would strongly urge comrade R to document her opinions for circulation by the center throughout the movement.

The tape recorded comrade E's objections to the press release issued prior to the election and the statement of purpose of the League as it appeared in the paper. This criticism centered around the statement that the League contains within its ranks some of the former members of the RWP. The objection we understand ~~it~~ is that this opens the way for the charge of Trotskyism to be flung at the League. The PC remains of the opinion that it was necessary not to try to evade this matter...after all the chairman of the League was expelled from the CCF under the charge of Trotskyism. Having long been known to hold Trotskyist views while in the CCF, at the time of the expulsion, in his case, we decided that he would be required to own up his fight on the basis of attempting to establish the right of revolutionary socialists (Trotskyists) to be in the CCF. The secretary ~~was~~ ^{is} former national secretary of the RWP who conducted a struggle with the support of sections of the CCF for his right to be in the movement with his political views. These comrades were the League's municipal election candidates. We think that it would have been quite wrong to have tried in the statement of purpose of the League to ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ pretend that everyone in the SEL is just a plain ordinary CCFer. This would not explain the existence of the League and would have laid us open to the charge of dishonesty, of duplicity ~~XXX~~. We did not label the League Trotskyist and we do not desire that it should be so labelled but we are of the opinion that it is more or less inevitable that it be so labelled (The Ont CCF secretary the last day of the Toronto election campaign did just this in all three papers) We have no need to deny that the League has Trotskyists in it — the League believes that Trotskyists have their place in it and in keeping with all our work of the past few years in the CCF that Trotskyists have a right to membership in the ~~League~~ ^{League} CCF. This matter is by no means closed with the publication of the statement of purpose in the paper. We are going to be confronted with it again in the future. We would therefore ask that Comrade E make known her views on the matter in written form for circulation to the movement.

The PC is glad to note that ~~the~~ Vancouver comrades adopt the paper as their own. We have now to make arrangements towards the regular receipt of material ~~from~~ the coast for the paper, to get behind the financial drive to put it on a stable publication basis, and to do what can be done towards building up its circulation.

Minutes of meeting December 27, 1955
Present—Timber, Kent, Jennings, Woods.

Draft of minutes of previous meeting read and adopted.

Membership. Kent reported on favorable development of the first sympathizer that we have had in Winnipeg in many years. Question of his membership in the League discussed. It was moved that this comrade be treated in the next period as a close contact and that internal documents of our choice be circulated to him with a view to bringing him closer to us. Passed unanimously.

Staff. It was suggested that we should take a formal decision on the matter of Jennings going onto the League staff as events are compelling us to make decisions in his work on the basis of our previous ~~preliminary~~ discussions on this matter. Jennings reported that by May first ~~his~~ his personal affairs would be in such a condition as to permit him to quit his job and devote full time to the League with a very minimum cost to the movement—something in the neighborhood of about \$80 a month. Recent growth of the Toronto group which now numbers 21 and with several contacts on the verge of joining. It was felt that we are getting into a better financial condition to meet this expense and that we are confronted more and more with the problem of having a full time Toronto organizer. What with

the paper and now the store developing into almost a full-time job, there is considerable pressure on us to increase the staff—relieve some of the burden from Kent and take advantage of opportunities that exist that we are now unable to meet. Motion that we recommend to the Toronto branch that comrade Jennings be taken on the party payroll in the ~~organizational~~ dual capacity of editor and branch organizer on May the first passed unanimously.

Press. Report by Jennings. Financial drive is underway. Nothing has come in from Vancouver as yet. Only a few of the outside points have responded. Toronto campaign is well underway although holiday season has slowed down the work of getting around to sympathizers for donations. Approximately \$350 has already been handed in by Toronto comrades and pledges total something like \$625. A few donations have come in from persons unknown to us who received sample first copies. Motion that this issue of the paper announce that closing date of the campaign is February 15th passed unanimously. Sub campaign in Toronto area is underway, lists of known friends in the CCF, sympathizers, ex readers of LG are being drawn up to be called upon. About fifty subs have been turned in so far. After the lists are worked over it is planned to move in on working class housing developments and apartments where we can do winter door to door sub work. Next issue of paper is well underway. We can expect to have it off the presses by January 4th or 5th. Motion by Timber that a formal letter be sent to the Vancouver comrades re the financial drive—passed unanimously. Kent reported on the good participation of the Toronto group in the writing of the paper. Several of the comrades who heretofore in his opinion never appreciated what it was to write for and put out a Trotskyist paper are now getting a good idea. Some of these first contributions show considerable possibilities. Kent also pointed out that we have received several letters from bona-fide long time members of the CCF. These letters reveal that our press in going to have some impact on the CCF. We will be publishing them in the next issue of the paper.

Bishop Comrade Woods stated that he would write Br comrades for information on political background of Comrade Bishop in Toronto branch. *also re contributions to our press*

BOSSSES' SIREN SONG



WHERE IS THE CCF GOING?

////

Liberals-Tories Say Election Spells CCF Doom

All during the provincial election campaign the **Toronto Daily Star** pressured the CCF to commit suicide by dissolving itself into the bosses' Liberal Party. Following election day the **Star** headed one of its editorials **THE CCF: BARELY BREATHING**. In ghoulish tones and with mock sympathy the editors comment "**the CCF managed to stave off extinction in yesterday's election and that was about all . . . indeed many supporters of the CCF must be wondering today whether their party has any future in this province.**"

Has the CCF a future in this province? We say **YES!** Certainly the ideas which brought its founding members together in Regina in 1933 have a future! Of course there are good grounds to seriously question this from the returns of this provincial election.

In 1948 the CCF won 466,000 votes. Since 1948 the number of persons eligible to vote in Ontario has increased considerably. But in 1951 126,000 persons who had previously voted CCF did not do so. This election registered another drastic fall-out—a further drop of 53,000 votes. In the industrial area of Toronto and Yorks over 23,000 who had voted CCF in 1951 did not do so this election.

Let's face it! These figures certainly do register a tragic decline in CCF support. This decline in electoral support is directly reflected in the constituency organizations of the party which, with but few exceptions, are in a feeble condition. No one vitally interested in the future of the CCF, in the future of independent political action by labor and the struggle for a socialist society, has cause to deny this. It is only through a fearless examination of these developments and all the related facts—without prejudice—that we can hope to rectify the situation.

CCF party leader Donald MacDonald credits his own victory in York South to good organization in that riding—and blames lack of organization for the defeat of so many other CCF candidates.

But this hardly begins to answer the question. Were none of the campaigns in other Toronto ridings well organized? If not, why not? This explanation of the defeat only poses bigger questions. Why has the movement deteriorated organizationally from when it could win the overwhelming majority of the Toronto seats? Almost as if he wished to contradict MacDonald's argument Henry Weisbach, political action director of the CIO-CCF, has stated that there was more trade union participation in the CCF cause this election than ever before.

MacDonald takes another stab at the question—why the grave decline in CCF support. The fault is in the electorate themselves, he answers. The people have become cynical, cynical about political immorality and corruption; they are lacking in moral indignation. This explanation, too, raises many more questions than it answers.

Then there is Henry Weisbach's explanation of "apathy." All CCF canvassers, poll workers, noted the failure of persons who stated they were CCF voters, many of whom even put up CCF placards on their porches, to go to the poll to cast their vote. Apathy of the "working people" is the cause of the CCF decline, says Weisbach.

There certainly is apathy among the workers—but **WHY** we must ask? Why are thousands of workers who once voted CCF staying away from the polls. The CCF appears to have had the magic key in 1948. Then in 1951 apathy set in—**WHY?** Apathy continued to set in in 1955—**WHY?**

Opportunity Missed

Following the war, in the 1945 election and continuing on to the 1948 election, the CCF was swept forward on the crest of a mighty wave. After the years of wartime sacrifice the working people moved forward to realize the better world that had been promised them. Armed with the experiences of their massive and heroic struggle with the bosses on the picket lines that stretched from coast to coast, the workers advanced onto the arena of political action.

The over all general conditions of the people of Ontario were better in 1948 than they are today. The economy was booming, there was no serious unemployment. But people had high hopes of building a better society. These hopes they identified with the CCF—a movement that in the pre-war thirties had appeared to them as being fundamentally different from the Liberals and Pro-

gressive Conservatives — a party of struggle, of principle, and of the working people.

Failure to take the government in one sweeping upsurge was a serious disappointment; however the CCF MPPs represented a strong bloc in the legislature. They had three years to deepen and consolidate the influence of the party. The CCF MPPs failed to do so—they failed to conduct themselves as genuine spokesmen of the working people, as a fighting opposition to the Tories.

Leaders Drop Socialism

Unknown to the great majority of the people and to many party activists too, deep going changes had taken place within the CCF. The wartime years of collaboration with the government had softened the leadership of the party, causing many to question the fundamental principles upon which the party had been built.

That is what has been behind the many differences that have broken out in the movement—the disagreement in policy on the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact, the Regina Manifesto and the new draft program, and just last winter on the question of the rearmament of the German ruling class which saw M. J. Coldwell and four MPs break with the rest of the CCF MPs, ignore convention directives, and support the government in this crime against the German people.

Many of the leaders have come to question the need and the possibility of building a fundamentally different type of Canada—a socialist Canada. Socialism according to them is no longer public ownership of the basic means of production and production for use, but an undefinable moral and ethical concept. They have become liberal reformers of capitalism. It is the influence of the liberal reformist forces in the national leadership of the party and in the leadership of such sections as the Ontario section that permits Liberal Prime Minister St. Laurent, with considerable truth, to call the CCF "Liberals in a hurry."

The present leadership of the CCF has wasted much of the goodwill that the working people had for it. In their rightward moving course and in their attempts to make the movement appear to be all things to all men, they have made it nothing to a great many. So, in the year 1955, with threatening and widespread unemployment, with the bosses stiffening up on the union front, when labor's forces should be beginning to mobilize we find the movement on the decline.

Thanks to the policy of the leadership, in this election campaign the CCF appeared no different from the Liberals and not fundamentally different from the Progressive Conservatives. Apathy?—is there any wonder. Lack of organization?—it would be surprising if it were otherwise.

This election campaign was launched in the Spring at the party's provincial convention. In the trade union conference that preceded the convention, in reply to a question about public ownership of a particular industry, Donald MacDonald said "Nationalization isn't in our program any more—the administrative problems are so big it would make it impossible." The leadership's main effort at the convention was to expel a sizeable group of members who had been opposing their rightward course and, through the expulsions, create an atmosphere in the clubs that would silence any other would-be critics.

Even this assault on the internal democracy of the party was utilized by the leadership to further their campaign to have the CCF appear in the public mind no different from the Liberals and Tories. Provincial president Parks told the press that the party had rid itself of some romantics—"romantic revolutionaries who have no place in the CCF." Others were quoted by the press as stating this move "will help us in the election. This will prove to the people who call the CCF communist that we are anything but that."

No Program

The election program devised by the leadership was a modest one of liberal reforms—a point by point comparison with the Liberals' program left little to choose from. Even such traditional CCF demands as the 18-year-old vote and free university education were absent from it. It had nothing to say on union check-off legislation and anti-union certification and conciliation board red tape. Most of the planks were of such a character that many could reasonably believe, that in good time, a Liberal or Tory government would fulfil them.

Unemployment is widespread in Ontario but Donald MacDonald, around whom the entire campaign was developed, scarcely mentioned the problem. It was apparent that the party leadership had no program with which to meet it that was in any way different from the Tory promises of public works projects.

The very reason to be of the CCF is that the Liberals and Tories are parties of Big Business, the CCF a party of the

working people. So absent was this characterization of the Liberals and Tories from the campaign that the one time that MacDonald did raise it in Hamilton brought a shocked protest from the editors of the *Globe and Mail*.

The big issue in this election according to those who drew up the program was honest and efficient government. No attempt was made to show that high-wage overpayments and unreported campaign donations were an inevitable part of parties that defend the capitalist system of organized graft and corruption. The CCF was presented as having the monopoly on honesty and efficiency. Few believed it—it must be admitted that this is a claim quite difficult to prove to a critic. That honest and efficient government was not even AN issue in this election let alone THE issue was sharply brought home by the reelection of those immediately involved in the scandals, Minister of Highways Doucette and J. S. Dempsey.

The leadership of the party met with great success in their attempts to eliminate from the public mind all ideas that there was any fundamental difference between the CCF and the two capitalist parties. Important factors in this "success" were the full co-operation of the capitalist press and both the Liberals and the Tories. In their aim of eliminating the CCF from the scene the bosses found an unexpected ally in the CCF leadership. So successful were the CCF leadership that on June 5 a prominent member of the Quebec Tories suggested to his party convention that they should unite with the CCF.

Liberal party attempts to undermine CCF support with the seductive appeal to above all defeat their twin the Tories, instead of being sharply rejected were opportunistically picked up by provincial president Eamon Park. Suggesting that in some ridings in order to get rid of the Tories CCFers should vote Liberal, he stated "there is a great range of ridings where Liberals of this mind should vote for the CCF."

The provincial leadership went further along with this Liberal game by failing to place candidates in Perth and Stormont ridings where, in previous years, the CCF polled votes three and four times what it polled in other contested ridings, and by failing to run an official candidate in Middlesex North and denouncing the CCF supporter who presented himself to the electorate as a

stooge placed in the running by the Tories to defeat the Liberals.

Some sections of the leadership and the party ranks although with doubts, have nonetheless gone along with the opportunism of the Right wing. Instead of searching for new ways of interpreting the basic socialist program of the party, instead of attempting to develop a program that meets the present level of consciousness of the Canadian people and leads them to a socialist understanding, they have permitted the leadership to hack away at and undermine the very foundations of the movement.

They think that the industrial worker, having no alternative, will continue to give their vote to the CCF. They hope that the Right wing's diluted version of the program may perform the magic trick, may make the party acceptable and attract the support of more conservative layers of the population.

This whole policy has proven bankrupt in this election. Instead of winning new support to the party the leadership's opportunism has lost support that had been won in the past. Even worse, it has demoralized whole layers of former active party workers, the precious reserves upon which the future is built.

What is more it is apparent that there is a grave danger that their continued leadership will imperil the very existence of the party as a party of the working people. The tendency towards liquidation of the party into the Liberal Party is growing in the leadership. Ross Thatcher's desertion is only the beginning.

Over 286,000 working people, out of a feeling of duty and loyalty to their class, went to the polls and voted CCF. Hundreds of union activists, through their Political Action Committees, worked in the campaigns. Only a very small percentage of these workers have joined the party, have become active in the constituency clubs. They have left the movement in the hands of the leaders.

Time is running out. Intervene in the situation now!

Join the club in your riding. Participate in the determination of party policy!

Defend democracy in the movement! Demand the reinstatement of all those expelled for differences of opinion with the leadership!

Fight for a working class program, for a socialist policy!

Build a new CCF leadership!